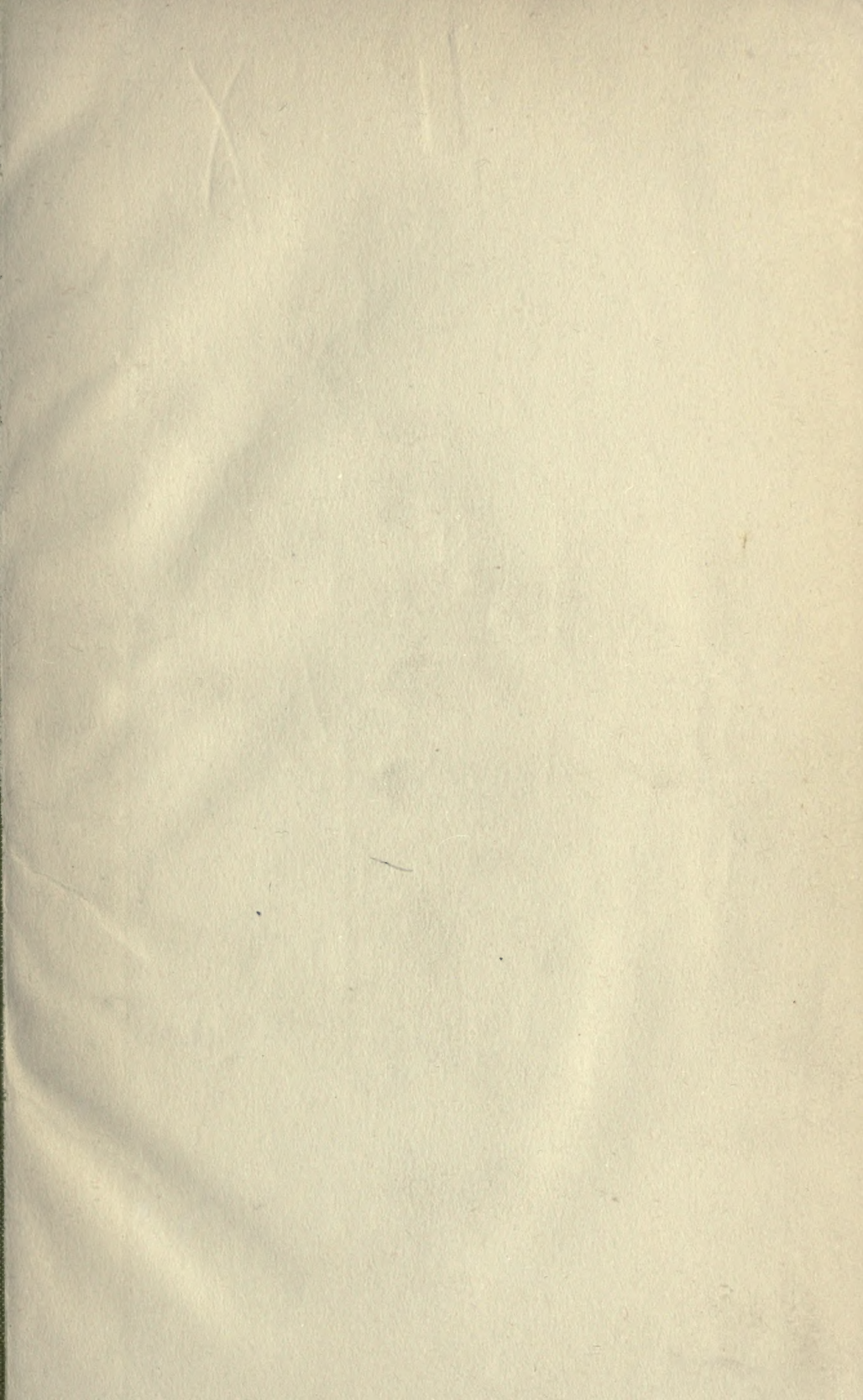
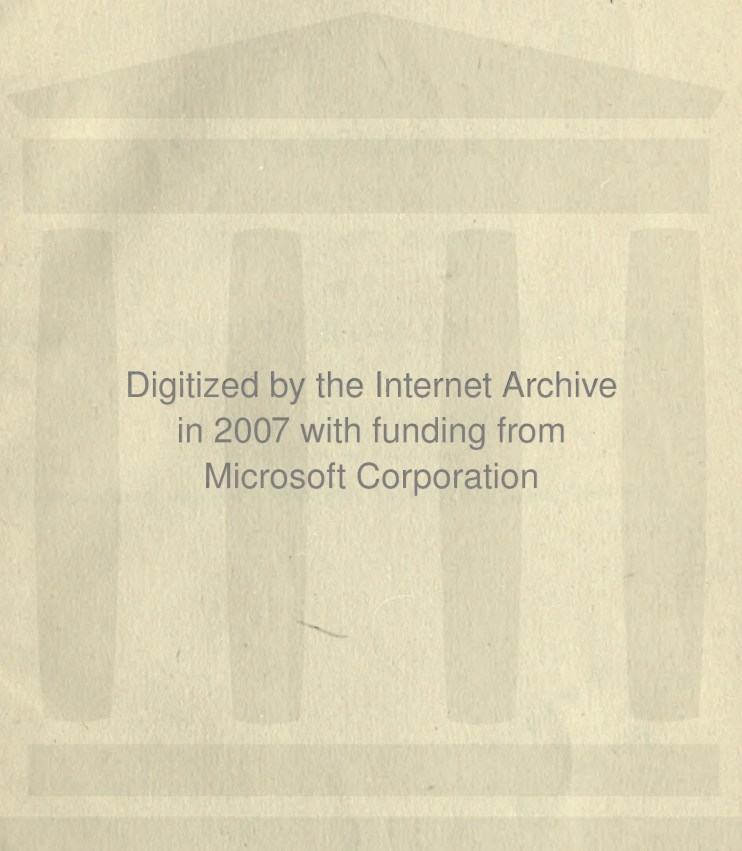


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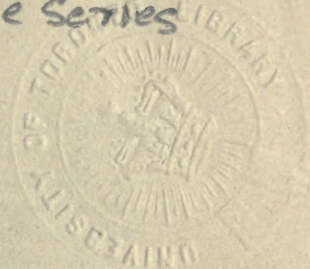
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A COMMENTARY
ON THE
FIFTY-THIRD BOOK
OF
DIO CASSIUS' ROMAN HISTORY

BY
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ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΝΓ

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἔκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤρξε, ^{a. u.} 726
καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου
ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ
κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ
διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὐτῷς ²
ταῦτα ἐποίησεν οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα·
ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτῷ συνῴκισε, καὶ σκηνήν, ὅποτε συστρα-
τεύουσιν, ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρέιχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
σφῶν ἐδίδοτο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴηστο ³
ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς
γερονσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατίᾳ ἐνενόμιστο.
τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ
αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ ⁴
τὴν πατήρυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένην ψηφισθεῖ-
σαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε
τῶν παιδῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ⁵
διὰ πέντε αἰεῖ ἐτῶν μέχρι πού ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερουσύναις ἐκ
περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς
τούς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ
ἀγῶν γυμνικὸς σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασ-
θέντος ἐποιήθη, ὀπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα ⁶
καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ
Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.
ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλiske, ²
καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφῶν δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγη-
κότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὸν σῖτον τετραπλάσιον
ἔνειμε, βουλευταῖς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ ²
σφῶν πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μὴδ' ἀγορανομῆσαι τινα διὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ
δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ
εἴηστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσ-
ταχθῆναι. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξεν· ὁ καὶ ³
αὐτῷς πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ
τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένης, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα,
ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων

⁴ ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγεννημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, εἶγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτοὺς ⁵ ἀνεκτέησατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆσεώς σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτοὺς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνν κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις κἂν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν ⁶ ἔκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθεῖς. εὐδοκίμων τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου μᾶλλον τιμηθεῖη, καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς ⁷ βεβιάσθαι. καὶ τοῦτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν ^{a. u.} παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆλθεν ἑβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ **727** ἀνέγνω τοιάδε.

³ “ἄπιστα μὲν εἶ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προηρῆσθαι, ἃ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκούοντων οὐκ ἂν ἐβελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἑτέρον λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν λεγο- ² μένοις. καὶ προσέτι καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦθ' ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσιν τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλόμεν ὃ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιήσῃν ἔμελλον, σφόδρ' ἂν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω· νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνν θαρσύνοντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία ³ νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε· τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἦτοι δικαίωθὲν πέπανται ἢ ⁴ καὶ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν ἐνέργεισιν ψεκίεται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὠχύρωται, ² ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμήσαι τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοηθήσον ἡμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε ³ πρὸς με ὥστε καὶ πάνν ἂν προστατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐβελήσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδ' ἑρεῖ τι· ὥς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἔνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα· ἀλλ' ἀφήμι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ⁴ νόμους, τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθῃτε τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν ⁵ πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέλησα. ὦφελον

μὲν γὰρ μὴδ' ἐπιστῆναι ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὠφελον μὴ δεδεῆσθαι μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐς ² τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρεῖαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρῃζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα· καὶ οὐκ ³ ἔστιν ὃ, τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεσθηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεσθηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα καὶ ἔπαθον ἄπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ ⁴ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιῶσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδεδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὥσπερ εἰώθειτε.

καὶ μήτε θανατάσθε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν ⁶ μου καὶ πραδότηα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὁρῶντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέρογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψήφισαμένων ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην' μῆτ' αὐ μωρίαν μου ² καταγνῶτε, ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάσῃ, δικαιοτάτον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφερότατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ' ³ ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύεσθαι· ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξότατόν μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀφῆσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλέεστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐβελοντὶ ἰδιωτέσσαι; ὥστ' εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω. ⁴ πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξει ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοῖητε καὶ τιμῶητε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνναίμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι. τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας ⁷ ἁλῶσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφῇν; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην, τὸν Ἰούβαν, τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν, τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ οἷα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πεποιήκασιν·

- ² ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἔστιν ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅτι τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολεμήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρωπῶς, τοῦ μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς κρατήσαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπεῖξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περιώσαντες, ὥστ' εἴπερ
- ³ ποτὲ καὶ αὖθις πεπρωμένον ἡμῶν εἴη τὴν πόλιν νοσῆσαι, τούτων αὐτὴν τὸν τρόπον εὖξασθαι τινα στασιάσαι· τὸ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτόν τε ἰσχύσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὥστε καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν
- ⁴ ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν ἔστι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχὴν, εἰ καὶ ὅτιοῦν πλεονεκτήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλον, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐς τε τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σεμνολογημάτων ἡμῖν ὄντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι, ὦν ἕτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινες ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα.
- ⁵ τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερός μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν μετῆλλαχότα αὖθις εἴπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος εὐρεθῆι; ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, στρατιώτας τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἡπείροις καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μήτ' ἀλλοφύλον τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μήτ' οἰκείου στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνοῦντων καὶ ὁμοροῦντων καὶ εὐθενοῦντων καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελοντηδὸν πειθαρχούντων, ἔπειθ' ἐκούσιος, αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ οὐσίας
- ⁶ τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι. ὥστ' εἴπερ ὁ Ὀράτιος, ὁ Μούκιος, ὁ Κούρτιος, ὁ Ῥήγουλος, οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ἠθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πράξαι ἐξ οὗ κἀκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
- ⁷ ἅμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλείᾳ ζῶν ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσῃ τις ὑμῶν τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφεῖσθαι νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ ἀνδρῶδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μὲν ὑποπτεύσῃ ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατίᾳ τινί, ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα αἰεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδούναί
- ⁸ βούλομαι. ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαί με ἔδει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτός τε γὰρ καὶ πεπὸνρημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐγγίγνεται τισι, τὰς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προσ-
- ⁹ ῥῶμαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι

ἐπικινδύνως αἰροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἂν πολλὸν βέλτιον ἄτε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἅμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἓνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικῶτο.

δὲ οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ 9 συνεπαινέσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθῆναι μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, κἂν τούτῳ πᾶσάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρῆσαί μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβιῶναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθῆναι δύναμαι. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσκειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς 2 μῆτε ἔργῳ μῆτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ· τοσοῦτόν που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαντῶ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, 3 οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστι πᾶσι τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν θηνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενον καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι, καὶ πάννυ ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένου μοι χρόνου τελευτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύσας ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι αἰροῦμαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλειαν καὶ 4 αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶσει ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχέειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαθέανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχῆσαι· ὃ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτείνει με πάντως πον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός 5 μου γέγονεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσότητος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν αἰδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δυνηθῆμεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευτῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξιν ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι 6 ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν, ἵνα μῆτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμεταχείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μῆτ' αὖ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὥς καὶ ῥαδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν 10 κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρὴ πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐστι; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλλετε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταῦτῳ μένοντα, κἂν χεῖρῳ ἢ, συμφορώτερα τῶν αἰεὶ καινοτομουμένων, κἂν βελτίῳ εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν. ἔπειτα δέ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι ποιεῖν καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε, ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς καὶ 3 τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς αἰεὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμπρονεστάτοις ἐπιτρέπετε, μῆτε φθονοῦντές τιςι, μῆθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαι τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιοῦτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν 4 δὲ δημοσίων ὥς ἄλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν

- ⁵ ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μὴθ' ὑβρίζετε μὴτ' ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μὴτ' ἀδικεῖτε μὴτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεὶ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μὴτε κατ' ἀλλήλων μὴτε κατὰ
- ⁶ τῶν εἰρηνούντων αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκοῦντως, ὥστε μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν κακὸν διὰ θρασυήτα δρᾶσαι.
- ⁷ ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξίοντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρῆ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε. ἐν οὖν ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσῃσθε, αὐτοὶ τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἔμοι χαριεῖσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν τοιοῦτους ἀπέδειξε, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσῃτε
- ⁸ καὶ ὅτι οὖν αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοῆσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἔς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύνους μεγάλους αὐθις ἐμβαλεῖτε."
- 11 τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ᾔδεσαν κακὸν τούτου καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον τὰ λεγόμενα, οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ θαύμαζον
- ² ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρω, οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνῶμην, καὶ ἤχθοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ μετανοίᾳ. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἥδη τινὲς ὡς καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας ἠρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον. καὶ ἂπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίοις
- ³ ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύναντο, οὐθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὐθ' οἱ ἕτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐτ' ἀπιστήσαντες διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτόν καὶ ἐλέγξει ἐτόλμων,
- ⁴ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐφοβούντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθεν περ καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαι τε δεόμενοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες,
- ⁵ μέχρι οὐ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτόν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ παραντίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτόν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδόμενου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο, ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.
- 12 τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερονσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δόξει, τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ
- ² ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδέξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν, οὐθ' ὅσων ἂν ἄρξη, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ

βουλῇ, τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα ὥς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἦτοι πολέμους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς³ τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπῶται, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόρους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχη, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄσπλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὦσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὅπλα ἔχη καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφῃ. καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία⁴ ἢ τε Ἀσία καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τό τε Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Βαιτικὴ τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρος ἢ τε λοιπῇ⁵ Ἰβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἱ τε Ναρβωνῆσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνῆσιοι Ἀκυιτανοὶ τε καὶ Κελτικοί, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄποικοι σφῶν Κελτῶν γάρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς⁶ καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ Κελτικὴν κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἄνω τὴν μετὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγάς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὖσαν. ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη⁷ καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καῖσαρος μερίδι τότε ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ὥς που καὶ⁸ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντριά τὰ ἔθνη ἅμα ἤρχετο τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ⁹ ἐμνημόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὕστερον αὐτῶν προσεκτῆθη, τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχειρώτο, ἀλλ' οὐτι γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρχετο, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτόνομα ἀφέϊτο ἢ καὶ βασιλείαις τισὶν ἐπετέτραπτο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ αἰεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διηρέθη, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὥς ὁ Καῖσαρ¹³ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη· τοσούτῳ τε γὰρ χρόνῳ κατα-⁴στήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσεναγιεύσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἂν καὶ θάττον ἡμερωθῇ θάττον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. καὶ τοῦτον² πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλὴν Ἀίγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν, ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ καὶ μόνοις τὸν ὀνομασμένον ἱππέα, δι' ἃπερ εἶπον, προσέταξεν· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίας ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἕκ τε τοῦ κοινού τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι³ μήτε ξίφος παραζωννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἢ δοκούντων γὰρ ἐστρατηγη-⁴κέναι μόνον ὄντας, βαβδούχοις τέ σφας ἐκατέρους ὅσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ

- ἄσκει νενόμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραρρήμα
 ἅμα τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς
 5 μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους ὑπὸ τε
 ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβυτάς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζε-
 σθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὦσι, διέταξε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων
 ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἰρετοῖς ὥς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου
 προσήκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατήγους σφᾶς προσειπών, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν
 10 ὑπάτων τοῖς ἐτέροις ὥς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς ἐπι-
 8 καλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τό τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τό
 τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὥς καὶ ἀντ'
 ἐκείνων ἄρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντι-
 στρατηγῶν τοὺς αἰρετοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον,
 ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἑαυτῷ δόξη, ἄρχειν ἐποίησε, τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν σκευὴν
 φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώτας δικαίῳσαι ἔξεστιν,
 7 ἔχοντας. ἄλλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἀνθυπᾶτῳ οὔτε ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὔτε
 ἐπιτρόπῳ ξιφηφορεῖν δέδοται, ᾧ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν
 8 ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 ἱππεύσιν, οἷς τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν
 οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ ἔξ πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι
 χρῶνται· καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀνομάζονται
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τὰ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα,
 ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκάτεροι
 ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.
- 14 οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ
 αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὁπότε ἤθελεν ἔστελλε, καὶ
 πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔσχον, δ
 2 καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται· τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε
 ὑπατευκόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι
 τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε
 3 μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι κληροῦσθαι. καὶ
 χρόνῳ μὲν τινι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦσαν,
 ἐλάγχανον αὐτά· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον,
 τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 4 τρόπον τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαριθμούς τε γὰρ τοὺς ἔθνεσι,
 καὶ οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἰρετοὺς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκέισε
 ἐπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἄρξαι ἐπέτρεψαν·
 καὶ τινες καὶ ἱππεύσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.
- 5 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς τοὺς γε καὶ θανατοῦν
 τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ
 οἷς οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα
 ἔθνη οἱ τε ταμιεύοντες, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλήρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρέοντες
 τοῖς τὸ κύρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ

πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλέσαιμι, ἐπεὶ ⁶
οἱ γε ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτους ἐλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ
περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἄρκουντως ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται, ⁷
τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστος αἰρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρα-
τηγηκότες ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ
ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὓς ἂν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ.
ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γάρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἐπαύ-
σατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται· πέμπον- ¹⁵
ται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ
πολιτικά στρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ἄρξοντές σφων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνου, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκόντων, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
τεταμεινκόντων ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινα ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων
αἰρούμενοι.

τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων ²
τοὺς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλευσοντας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ
τῆς διαφορᾶς ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προεῖρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς
μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικά τείχῃ μόνῃ τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικά ἀποστέλλει,
ὥσπερ τότε πρὸς τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρό- ³
πους, οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προσ-
τεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν, ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ
ἔθνη, τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ
ἀνθύπατοι παρ' ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουν. ἐντολὰς τέ τινας καὶ ⁴
τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν,
ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκεί-
νοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάσαι ⁵
ἐργολαβούντες τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν
ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρέιχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ
ἐκείνοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου
πᾶσι σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπήγτει, ἐτάχθη· καὶ τοῖς γε
ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν
διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσγίγνεται. ἐκείνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ⁶
ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτ' ἀργύ-
ριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἦτοι ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἢ
ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν· ὅταν τέ τῷ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἕκ τε τοῦ
ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχερονίζειν,
ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανίεναι.

ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὥς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ ¹⁶
πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
κυριεύων, λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ
δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
κρατῶν, αὐταρχήσειν ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθούσης ἄλλα ²
ἔτη πέντε, εἴτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα

- πεντάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηριδίων διαδοχῇ διὰ βίου
³ αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὅμως διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὥς καὶ τὴν ἡγε-
⁴ μονίαν αὐθις τότε ἀνανεούμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη, ἔλαβε. καὶ γὰρ τό τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὥς καὶ αἰετὸς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι ἐψηφίσθη.
⁵ καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεία παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ 'Ρωμύλου προε-
⁶ νοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὅρους ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθι πού ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύη, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπικλήσιν ἢ καταγωγῇ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς
⁷ βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐπέθετο. βουλευθέντων γὰρ σφῶν ιδίως πῶς αὐτὸν προσεπείν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσηγουμένων καὶ αἰρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς 'Ρωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλ' Αὐγούστου ὥς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμώτατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὐγούστα προσαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντες πῶς ὥσπερ τινα σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι, προσείπον.
¹⁷ οὕτω μὲν δὴ τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὐγούστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη. μοναρχία γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα
² τὸ κύρὸς ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἂν νομίζοιτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὥστε μήτε δικτάτωρας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτότροπον τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σφῶν ὀνομάζειν· τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακει-
³ μένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθη γενόμενα καὶ νῦν πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν ὁ αἰετὸς κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῦτ' ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα παρ' ἐκούσιν σφισιν ἴσχυσεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορείας
⁴ προσεποιήσαντο. ὑπατοὶ τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίνονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοιο ἀεὶ, ὅσάκις ἂν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ᾤσιν, ὀνομάζονται· τήν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικῆσαντές τινας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς σφῶν ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ τε δικτάτωρος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν.
⁵ αὐτὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας

ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορίᾳ βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναιρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ⁶ ὁμοίως ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, λαμβάνουσιν· ἐκ δὲ ⁷ δὴ τοῦ τιμητεῖν τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζουσι, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπαλείφουσιν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ. ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱερῶσύναις ἱερῶσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ⁸ ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν δίδοναι, ἀρχιέρεων τέ γιναι αὐτῶν, καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα ἄρχωσιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κυριεύουσιν. ἥ τε ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, ἣν οἱ πάντες ⁹ ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, δίδωσί σφισι τὰ τε γινόμενα ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπαίνωσι, παύειν, καὶ μὴ καθυβρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ ἄκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ ὥς καὶ ἐναγῇ ἀπολλύναι. δημα- ¹⁰ ρχεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελούντες, οὐχ ὅσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαριθμῆσι τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς ¹¹ δημοκρατίας, ὥς που καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὕτω τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄνευ δόσεώς τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν· ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἑτερόν τι, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα ἄντι- ¹² κρως ἐδόθη, προσεκτήσαντο, ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ τᾶλλα αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐξῆν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατῖνα ῥήματα λέγει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐλευθεροὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεώς εἰσι καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ ² οὕτως ἐκ τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἰσχὺν περιβέβληνται ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἥ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθῃσι, δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιωματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἡ γε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν ³ καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινα αὐτοῖς, ἣν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον, κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἔς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς παραίνεσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὥς καὶ παῖδας ἀγαπῶεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοί σφας ὥς καὶ πατέρας αἰδῶνται.

τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦται αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἷς οἱ τὸ κράτος ⁴ ἔχοντες κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἥδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὥς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους ὥς ἕκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν

- ⁵ γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς διὰ βίου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἐτι τοῦτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἰροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὔτε τὴν πρόσκλησιν αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς κτῶνται.
- 19 ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· καὶ γὰρ πού καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς ² πρὸσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω πού συμβαίῃ, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγραφον, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ἔχθρᾳ τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασιν τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι ³ τοῖς δημοσίοις τρόπον τινὰ εὐρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δὲ πού τινα καὶ δημοσιευθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξελεγκτά γε ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται. καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν αἰεὶ κρατούντων ⁴ τῶν τε παραδυναστευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γινόμενα θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος δυσχερεστάτην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συχνὰ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλά, πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμιον αἰεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεται τι, περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γινώσκει, πλείστοι ⁶ δ' ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὡς πού καὶ δεδήλωται φράσω, εἴτ' ὀντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἠδυνήθηεν ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνεγνων ἡ καὶ ἤκουσα ἡ καὶ εἶδον τεκμήρασθαι.
- 20 Αὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντιες ὅτι τε ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσει καὶ ὅτι ² πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑποχειρίαν ἔξει προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα, Σέξτος τις Πακουούσιος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, Ἀποῦδιος, πάντας ἔξενίκησεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτὸν τέ οἱ τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐμποδῶν οἱ ³ ἐγένετο, πρὸς τε τὸ πλήθος τὸ προσεσπὸς ἐξεπήδησεν, ἐδημάρχει γὰρ, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερωσαί σφας τῷ

Αὐγούστῳ κατηνάγκασεν· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ νῦν προστρεπόμενοι τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι σοι καθωσίωνεθα.

καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντας ἐποίει, ἔν τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ νιῒ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι τι εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· 21 Αὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὥς καὶ ἐβελοντὶ δὴ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνομοθέτει πολλά. οἷδεν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ² ἔπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἢ μὴδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ πάντες αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωνῶν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἃ καὶ ³ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως, ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινὰ, προμαθῶν ἐπαγορθῶσιν· προετρίπετό τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὀντινοῦν συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἴ τίς τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσῃ, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέγραφε. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ⁴ ἢ τὸν ὑπατον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι, κὰκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἕνα παρ' ἑκάστων, ἕκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρω λαχόντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἑξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν ⁵ γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἰσχυρίαν τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτο τε ἐποίει καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκασε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ βου- ⁶ λὴ πᾶσα ὥς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὃ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ συνελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ⁷ ἐκείνον ἥρεσκε. τοὺς γοῦν ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μὴτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μὴτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀπιδεικνύωνται.

τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διψήκῃ, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ²² ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ' ὧν ἐγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἕξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὕσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας αὐτός, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἡμελ-
λεν, ἐπεμελήθη. καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ² εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίδος γεφύρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἐποιήθησαν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ὕστερον, εἴτ' οὖν πρὸς τοὺς δημοσίους, ἐπειδὴ μὴδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδέως ἀνήλυσεν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει, ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι δια- ³ ρῖναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς

- δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἰκοθεν
¹⁴ πάνθ' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε διαπαντὶ δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτ' εἴ ποτε
ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ αἰεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ' εἴ ποτε αὐ-
τὸς ἔδωκε, γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἑκάτερον
αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἐς δανείσματα ἢ καὶ δωρεάς τὰ τοιαῦτα
καταλέγοι, ὅποτε καὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκρά-
τωρ ἐπίκεινον αἰεὶ χρῶνται;
- ¹⁵ τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὥς
καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεῦσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν
ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν· ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν,
καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
τῇ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς
ἐποίησατο καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. κἀντεῦθεν ἔς
²³ τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην. μετὰ δὲ δὴ
^{a.u.} τοῦτο αὐτὸς τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ
⁷²⁸ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν. ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ
² οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς
πέραξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνωκοδομη-
μένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια
³ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσαγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως φθό-
νον τινα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥφλισκανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ
⁴ ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐτιμᾶτο· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ
φιλανθρωπώτατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλέεστατα τὰ τε συμφορώτατα καὶ συμ-
βουλεύων οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντε-
ποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὔτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὔτε ἐς ἀπό-
λαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρήτο, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῷ δημοσίῳ
⁵ συμφέρον· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνῆλιος καὶ ἐξῦβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς.
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὥς
εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-
⁶ μίδας ἐσέγραψε. κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργον,
ἐταίρου τέ οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἡτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου,
ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶσθαι. γενομένου δὲ
τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς
⁷ ἐπήνεγκαν, καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἀλῶναί τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστη-
ρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ
δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγῆσας
²⁴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον
καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκείνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω
τότε διέθηκαν ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδὴ περ αὔξειν ἤρχετο, μέλλοντές που καὶ
⁸ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἱ συμβῇ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. ὁ
μέντοι Προκουλήσιος οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ
αὐτῷ τὴν τε ῥῖνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικ-

νύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι μὴδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι τινα παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια εἴη. ἄλλος τέ τις προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνώσων, ³ μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν· ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἀρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἦδει πρότερον συκοφαντῆσαι. οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ ⁴ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κἂν πονηρὰ ᾖ, μᾶλλον ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσουνται, ὥστε καὶ τότε Μάρκος Ἐγνάτιος Ῥοῦφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ⁵ τὰ τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθεὶς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ δλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν ⁶ τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ὅπως μὴδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κἂν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὃ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ²⁵ ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἐνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τὸν τε Αὐγουστον ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ² ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογήσαι, στρατευσέοντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σαλασσοὶ ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες πολεμωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκείνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸ οὔσαν. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος, ἤδη ³ δὲ ἔρατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλασσούς a.u. ⁷²⁹ Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς πολλὰ ἄμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρωτότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ῥᾶσά τε αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε, καὶ συμβῆναι καταν- ⁴ αγκάσας ἀργυρίον τέ τι ῥητόν, ὥς καὶ μὴδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ᾗτησε, κἂκ τούτου πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἔσπραξιν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ στρατιώ- ⁵ τας διαπέμψας, συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾗ μὴδεὶς σφῶν ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθεῖ. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρίστη ⁵ τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισὶν ἐδόθη, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὐγούστηαν πραιτωριανῶν ὠνομασμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἄμα ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ⁶ μήτε προσεχώρουν οἱ, ἅτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς ⁶ χεῖρας διὰ τε τὸ τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντισταὶ τὸ πλείστον εἶναι ἦσαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ, εἴ που κινηθεῖη, τὰ τε ὑπερδέξια αἰεὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τοῖς τε ὑλῶδεσιν ἐνεδρεύνοντες παρείχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ παντάπασιν ἐγέν-

- ⁷ ετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τε τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράκωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡρώστει· Γάιος δὲ Ἀντίστιος προσεπολέμησέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι ⁸ καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικηθήσαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τε τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τὴν τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστύρων πόλισμα ἐκλειφθὲν εἴλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.
- ²⁶ πανσαμένον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὐγούστος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφήκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὐγούσταν ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεῦσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θεάς τινὰς διὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκελλοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὥς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατοῖς ἐποίησε.
- ² καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰοῖβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ περ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, ³ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε· τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον ⁴ τῷ Ἀμύντῳ προσνεμηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνδρας ἐς τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ αυτοκράτορος τῷ ⁵ Αὐγούστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μὲν πού καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος οἱ ψυχοδομήθη, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἑσθῆτι τῇ νικητηρίᾳ αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι.
- Αὐγούστος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ²⁷ Ἰαννοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκλείσεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς ἰδίῳις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοᾶν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὀνομασμένην καὶ ἐξφοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε· Λακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδή περ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ ² λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα ἔδωκον, ἐπεκάλεσε. τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὀνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγρρεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὃν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν. ³ ἐν. ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγούστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπὶ κλήσιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ ⁴ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε. καὶ ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγούστον φιλοτιμίας,

ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδεδεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐτίμησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς ⁵ θυγατρὸς τῆς 'Ιουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφίδου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τότε ποιῆσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὼν ἐώρτασε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἢ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ 'Αντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε 'Αγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλῃ δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλᾳ ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ 'Αγρίππαν σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο. οὗτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικό- ⁶ τως ἐγαυροῦτο, καὶ τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχευεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερόν τινος ὄντα, ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίσατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερούλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔτερα θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ Γαῖου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, ^{a.u.} 28 καὶ ἐν τε τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὄρκους ἢ βουλὴ βεβαιούσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἡγγέλη, ὑπὸ γὰρ ⁷³⁰ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τό τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ² ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξῃ, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἵν', ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιτο ποιῶν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀβουλοίη μὴ πράττοι. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημούντι ἔτ' ³ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἢ περ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη· καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος ⁴ μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμιευσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιλιπόντων ἐκλήρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμιευκότες.

ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ ²⁹ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς 'Ιβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπὼν, ἀπηλλάγῃ, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ἡτιοῦν ἐκφῆναι οἱ, σίτον τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ τούτου στρατιώτας συχνοὺς ὥς καὶ κομιούντας αὐτὰ ² λαβόντες ἐς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδειά φισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἥσθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν θρωθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινων καυθέντων, τό τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς αἰὲ ἀλικομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως χειρώθησαν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχὴν τε· ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχευεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ 'Αραβίαν τὴν εἰδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἥς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν, Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων ἐπε-

- ⁴ στρατεύσε· καὶ ἐς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην ἦλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προσεχώρει· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐρημία καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἄτοπον ἔχοντα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε
⁵ τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὅμοιον ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκήψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ περιγιγνομένων ἐς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῆι, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐλυμαίνετο, ἱαμά τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἔλαιον οἴνῳ μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε καὶ ἠλείψατο. ὅπερ πού πάνυ ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε ποιῆσαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάσαιο. κἂν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρ-
⁷ βαροὶ σφισι προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ἦττους, ὁπότε γε καὶ προσμίξειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τινὰ καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλον· τότε δὲ συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τὰ τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδούλων καλουμένων, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν.
- 30 ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἄρξας
a.u. ἡρρώστησεν αὖθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σchein· πάντα
731 γούν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο καὶ τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἄθροισας διάδοχον μὲν
² οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθῆσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκῶντων, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινὰ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον
³ ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντωνίος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις, ἀπελεύθερος γὰρ ἦν, χρῆσθαι τὴν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν
⁴ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς πεπωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας ἀλῶναι, ὃ μὲν Αὐγουστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ὃ δὲ δὴ Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα
⁵ τρόπον θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἵθιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ φκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
⁶ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὀνομασμένου ἐτίμησε. καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῇν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἐς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθασθαι ἐκέλευσε.
- 31 ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσῆνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέξασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώ-

ποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλειπὼς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνω· οὐδείς γὰρ ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες² αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρὸν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῷ τιμὰς διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας ἐπετέλει συνδιαθεῖς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ³ θέρει παραπετάσμασι κατὰ κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἱππέα γυναικὰ τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἑσαγαγεῖν, ὅμως τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνῶμῃ ἐθάρσει, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν. εὐ τε γὰρ ἡπίστατο προσφιλῇ σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι. ῥαῖσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν³² Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύς τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῳ οὖσι συμβῇ, ἔστειλε. καὶ ὃς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγούς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν² ἔτι πλεόνων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσιν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα ἔτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς³ ἕκαστα, ἀπέειπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθῶν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἔξ ὅπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἔτους ἤρξαν, ἐπισχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὐθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπατεύωσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως αὐτὸ ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπὶ⁴ τε τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνθεῖλετο, αἶε τε τῷ Βρούτῳ συσπυδάσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιοῦμενον· τό τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία δῆμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίστατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν⁵ αὐτῷ περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅτου ἂν ἐβελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλὴν κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἑσαεῖ καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ' αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκείνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν⁵ αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο· τό γάρ τοι ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων οὐθ' ὁ Αὐγούστος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδείς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλη-³³θείας τιμηθεὶς λαβεῖν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέρους σφίσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου

πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
² αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διάγνωσιν
 τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν
 πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς τε αἰχμα-
 λώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἀλόντα κομίσασθαι.

³ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τέ τινα τῶν καταδεεστέρων
 ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκῶς ἐν τοῖς
 ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον.
 καὶ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς δυο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἰς γέ-
 τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐς μειράκιόν πωτελῶν ὅμως ἤρξεν.

⁴ αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι
 τῶν νύκτων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο· ἐς ἀμφίβολον δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὕτη
 καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσῶδων

⁵ γενομένων ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. καὶ
 φιλεῖ γάρ πως αἰεὶ τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεισθαι, τότε μὲν
 λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδο-
 μήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὃ τε Τίβερης αὐξηθεὶς τὴν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην
 κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

COMMENTARY

C. I, § I. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. "These things" are the events recorded in Bk. 52, viz. the consultation held by Octavian with Agrippa and Maecenas upon the question whether the ancient form and administration of the Roman State should be restored or not, the conclusion at which Octavian arrived being that the counsel of Maecenas, who commended monarchy, was to be preferred (cc. 1-41); the assumption of the "praenomen Imperatoris" (c. 41); the census and revision of the membership of the Senate (c. 42); the election of new members to the patrician order (ibid.); the despatch of new settlers to Carthage (c. 43); the condemnation and death of Antiochus of Commagene (ibid.); Octavian's purchase of Capreae from the citizens of Neapolis (ibid.). The contents of Bk. 52 are assigned to the year of Rome 725=29 B.C.

τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, viz. U.C. 726=28 B.C. C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus VI. M. Vipsanius Agrippa II. cos.

τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων, the fasces. In order to avoid, as far as possible, occasions of conflict, it had been the practice, from the beginning of the consulate, that the real exercise of its powers should be assumed by the consuls in alternate months. The consul in actual exercise of the chief magistracy of the commonwealth was distinguished as the one "penes quem" or "cuius fasces erant". At first the other consul, "cuius fasces non erant", was attended only by an *accensus*. At a later time, however, both consuls alike were attended by lictors carrying fasces (twelve for each), but while the fasces preceded the consul "cuius erant", they followed his colleague. This latter practice was regarded as ancient in the times when Suetonius lived. "*Antiquum retulit morem*" says Suetonius, with reference to the first consulship of Julius Caesar (59 B.C.) "ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur" (*Iulius*, c. 20). See Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, vol. I, arts. *Consul*, *Fasces*.

ταῖς ἐτέραις, sc. ῥάβδοις.

τὸν ὅρκον, the oath taken by the consul at the expiration of his term of office, calling the gods to witness that he had done nothing against the well-being of the Republic.

§ 2. εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, i.e. whether he treated any other colleague in the consulship with so much deference, and so much respect for ancient usage.

τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν, Marcella (minor), daughter of C. Marcellus and Octavia, sister of Octavian.

σύνθημα = signum (e.g., Iul. Capit. *Antoninus Pius*, 12. 6).

§ 3. τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε. Compare Monumentum Ancyranum, c. VIII (Mommsen): In consulatu sexto census populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadagesimum feci. Quo lustrum civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadragiens centum millia et sexaginta tria millia. In 52. 42 Dio speaks of Octavian and Agrippa as having assumed the censorial office in U.C. 725 = 29 B.C., the year of the former's fifth consulship. That they exercised *censoria potestas* in taking the census is shown by an inscription quoted in Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 27: *Imp. Caesare. VI. M. Agrippa. II. cos: idem. censoria. potest. lustrum. fecerunt.* Augustus held a census again in U.C. 746 = 8 B.C. and U.C. 767 = A.D. 14. Mon. Ancyr. l. c.: Iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos. . . . Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci, Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. See note on ch. 17 § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν. The *lustratio* performed in U.C. 726 was the first after an interval of over forty years, the last preceding one having been held U.C. 685 = 69 B.C. by the censors Gellius and Lentulus (Mommsen on Mon. Ancyr. l. c.). The statement made by Suetonius in his life of Augustus (c. 27) is partly right and partly wrong. "Recepit morum legumque regimen perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, census tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus". Augustus never accepted a "perpetuum regimen" of laws and manners; this therefore was not the source of the *ius* by which he took the census. On the other hand he *did* take the census thrice, the first and third time with a colleague, the second time alone. See ch. 17 § 7.

πρόκριτος τῆς γερονσίας = Princeps Senatus. Compare Mon. Ancyr. c. VII: πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συνκλήτου ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραφον, ἐπὶ ἑτῇ τεσσαράκοντα. (The forty years are reckoned from U.C. 727.)

τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancyr. c. XIX: templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus; Sueton. *Aug.* 29: Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictum desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiant. Addidit porticum cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco jam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. This

temple, dedicated a.d. viii Kal. Nov. A.U.C. DCCXXVI, was one of Octavian's thank-offerings for the "crowning mercy" of Actium, which he regarded as granted in answer to his prayers by Apollo, to whom Actium was sacred. See Maclean on Horace, *Carm.* I. 31, and *Carm. Saec.* 33 and 61. Virgil (*Aen.* VIII. 704-5) makes Vulcan portray, on the shield of Aeneas, "Apollo of Actium" fighting for Octavian and Italy against Antony and the East.

§ 4. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν. This had been voted U.C. 724, in honour of the victory at Actium. συχνὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πανήγυριν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἀγεσθαι . . . ἔγνωσαν, Dio 51. 19.

τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν κ.τ.λ. the "carrousel" called *Troia*, portrayed by Virgil in *Aen.* V. 545-603. At the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius (U.C. 725) ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν τροίαν εὐπατρίδαι παῖδες ἵππευσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων τῶν τε τεθρίππων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κῦντός τέ τις Οὐιτέλλιος βουλευτὴς ἐμονομάχησε—Dio 51. 22. Compare Sueton. *Aug.* 43: In circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnunquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime, maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere.

§ 5. διὰ πεντε αἰὲ ἐτῶν κ.τ.λ. διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν, καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα = quinto quoque anno, ternis annis solidis intermissis (Mommsen on Mon. Ancy. c. IX.)—i.e. these phrases mean *not* "once every five years" but "once every four years." Mon. Ancy. c. IX: εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι, τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. The words ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, are an erroneous rendering of "sacerdotum quattuor collegia" (Momms.), the numeral being taken as belonging to "sacerdotum", not to "collegia". It should be noted that Augustus himself, in the Mon. Ancy., does not (expressly, at least) connect the *vota* (εὐχαὶ) of the Senate with the *Bellum Actiacum*, whereas Dio, 51. 19 (quoted above), asserts that the Senate voted quinquennial games in honour of the victory. In U.C. 738 = 16 B.C., the administration of the festival had come round by rota to the Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis, of which sacred college Agrippa had by that time become a member. Augustus was absent from Rome, having been called away by the somewhat critical situation in Gaul, "κάν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, ἐν γάρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἱέρωτο, διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος."

—D.C. 54. 19. Note that here Dio calls the festival *τὴν πεντετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς* [τοῦ Αὐγούστου], the quinquennial commemoration of Augustus' sovereignty, making no reference to Actium. Suetonius, *Aug.* 44, makes mention of *ludi pontificales*, which must mean some one or other in the series of these quinquennial celebrations which was administered and provided for by the Pontifices. The *ludi* of U.C. 726 were given at the charges of Octavian and Agrippa, possibly of Agrippa only. The next celebration was administered by the Pontifices (U.C. 730), the third by the Augures (U.C. 734), the fourth by the Quindecimviri (U.C. 738: Dio, 54. 19, cited above), the fifth by the Septemviri Epulones (U.C. 742). Dio says that the periodical celebration was kept up *μέχρι πον*: the Mon. Ancyr. says that *πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι*. If these *ludi* and *spectacula*, originating in vows of the Senate "pro salute Caesaris", and associated with the memory of the Bellum Actiacum, were kept up regularly, there would have been a celebration in U.C. 766 = A.D. 13. But *μέχρι πον* rather excludes this supposition, and *πλειστάκις* does not enforce it. Mommsen holds that these games were not called *Ludi Actiaci*. Entertainments were instituted under that title at Nicopolis in Epirus (Dio 51. 1: ἀγῶνα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὴς ἵπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν . . . κατέδειξεν) and elsewhere in the provinces, but not in Rome. He explains the connection which Dio makes between the games "pro salute Caesaris" and the battle of Actium by reference to numismatic types. Coins struck by C. Antistius Vetus in U.C. 738 (one of the years in which these games were celebrated) are extant. On one of them there is the figure of a priest at an altar with the legend PRO. VALETUDINE. CAESARIS. S.P.Q.R. On another, the figure of Apollo, with APOLLINI ACTIO.

§ 6. *νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος*. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam expertus est . . . Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam subnatalem suum—(Sept. 23)—plerumque languebat, et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine.

C. 2, § 1. *ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας κ.τ.λ.* Mon. Ancyr. append. among the objects of Augustus' liberalities mentions *θέας καὶ μονομάχους καὶ ἀθλητὰς καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ θηριομαχίαν*. Ibid. c. xxii: Ter munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine . . . bis athletarum undique accitorum spectaculum populo praebui meo nomine et tertium nepotis mei nomine. Ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum vicem ter et viciens . . . Consul XIII ludos Martiales primus feci. . . . Venationes bestiarum Africanarum meo nomine aut filiorum meorum et

nepotum in Circo aut in Foro aut in amphitheatris populo dedi sexiens et vicini. . . .

τῷ δημοσίῳ sc. θησαυρῷ, i.e. the Aerarium in the temple of Saturn.

ἐδανείσατο κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancy. c. xvii: Quater pecunia mea iuvi aerarium, ita ut sestertium milliens et quingentiens ad eos qui praeerant aerario detulerim.

πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφῶν κ.τ.λ. From the institution of the Consular Republic, down to the dictatorship of Caesar, the *quaestores urbani* had been the chief officials of the Treasury. In U.C. 709=45 B.C. Caesar transferred their duties to two aediles, as no quaestors had been elected for that year. See Dio 43. 48. Whether aediles continued to take the place of quaestors at the Treasury all the time from U.C. 709 to 726 is not quite certain. With Dio's statements here compare Tacitus *Ann.* xiii. 29: Augustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos: deinde, ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum, qui praessent. Neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad parum idoneos. Tunc Claudius quaestores rursum imposuit, iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consularent, extra ordinem honores promisit. Sed deerat robur aetatis eum primum magistratum capessentibus. Igitur Nero praetura perfunctos et experientia probatos delegit'. This arrangement remained in force down to the time of Diocletian. See Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 445.

τῷ πλήθει τὸν σίτον τετραπλάσιον ἐνειμε. Sueton. *Aug.* 41: Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim adensus est.

βουλευταῖς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο. Mon. Ancy. append.: δαπάναι εἰς θεάς κ.τ.λ., δωρεαί τε ἀποικίαις κ.τ.λ., ἡ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις καὶ συνηθητοῖς, ὧν τὰς τειμήσεις προσεξέκληρωσεν, ἀπειρον πλῆθος. Sueton. *Aug.* 41: Senatorum census ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertio taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 37: Marcus Hortalus (grandson of the orator Hortensius), inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingeretur.

§ 2. μὴδ' ἀγορανομῆσαι τινα κ.τ.λ. Under the Republic, the aedileship (ἀγορανόμος = aedilis) had come to be accounted of and used as an opportunity for purchasing popular favour, in order to make sure of election to the praetorship. There was, therefore, no less of "onus" in it than of "honos". Thus Caesar, when aedile, had made an especially conspicuous bid for the voices of the people by the number of gladiators he sent into one of his festal displays—

see Sueton. *Caesar* 10. The expensive character of this office still survived under the Augustan Restoration, until Augustus in U.C. 732 τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν—Dio 54. 2 (compare Tac. *Ann.* i. 15 and 77).

τὰ δικαστήρια κ.τ.λ. Under the Republic, the aediles had acted as prosecutors, summoning persons charged with usury before the Comitia Tributa; they had also been charged with the preservation of order and quiet in public places, and the enforcement of regulations governing the movement of traffic and the cleaning of the streets. The institution of *quaestiones perpetuae*, however, had diminished their importance as public prosecutors. See Abbott, *op. cit.* § 237.

§ 3. τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ = praetori urbano.

τῷ ξενικῷ = "ad praetorem, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictionis evenisset" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 15).

τὰς ἐγγύας. In 51. 17, Dio says that Octavian paid all creditors in full out of the spoils of Egypt: τοῖς προδανείσασί τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη.

τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια. Sueton. *Aug.* 32: Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit.

§ 4. τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια κ.τ.λ. A college of priests of Isis was established in Rome in the time of Sulla, but this did not mean that the cultus was recognized as allowable by the State. Measures of repression were taken by the Government in U.C. 696, 701, 704, and 706, the shrines of Isis being demolished, but in 711 the Triumvirate built a temple for the goddess. Octavian, who is now by way of rescinding the acts of the Triumvirate (§ 5, Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.) prohibits the celebration of the Egyptian rites within the pomerium. In U.C. 733, Rome being agitated by faction-fighting, Agrippa was commissioned by Augustus to restore order. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰδοῦντα ἔτι εὐρὼν κατεστήσατο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδένα μηδ' ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὁγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν—Dio 54. 6. But the goddess and her priests returned once more, and in A.D. 19 "actum de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis" (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85). In spite of all this repression, Isis and Serapis succeeded at last in permanently establishing themselves in Rome, finding patrons in the Flavian dynasty. See Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, pp. 11-12, and Sueton. *Aug.* 93: Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverendissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit . . . in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit. Republican precedents Octavian found to be hostile to the religion of Isis and Serapis, and as he was bent on restoration of the Republic, he gave no countenance to the Egyptian gods and their worshippers.

τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο. Mon. Ancy. xx: Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto senatus refeci; Sueton. *Aug.* 30: aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit; . . . Ibid. 29: sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent. This restoration of temples was another department of the general restoration of the Republic. Similar care for old temples was shown by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* II. 49).

§ 5. κατέλυσαν. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 28: Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iussit abolivit. This again was part of the republican Restoration. It is uncertain whether the powers of the Triumvirate, originally granted for five years, terminating Dec. 31, U.C. 716, were formally renewed for another quinquennium.

§ 6. ὅπως . . . βεβιάσθαι, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur imperitare. (Sueton. *Tiberius*, 24).

§ 7. ἔβδομον ὑπατεύων. U.C. 727 = B.C. 27. The pronouncement which follows was delivered on the Ides of January. Ovid *Fasti* I. 589; see note on c. 4 § 3 below (ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν κ.τ.λ.).

c. 3. § 1. φθονῶν. Cf. Thucyd. II. 35.

c. 4. § 1. τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν . . . σεσωφρόνισται. Mon. Ancy. c. II: Qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli, iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie; c. III: Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi, victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci. Velleius Paterculus II. 86: Victoria [sc. Actiaca] fuit clementissima, nec quisquam interemptus est: paucissimi [eiecti?] et hi qui deprecari quidem pro se non sustinerent. Dio, 51.2, says that Octavian τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐξήμιωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο.

καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι . . . ὠχύρωται Dio 51. 17, after the capture of Alexandria and the Treasury of the Lagidae: τοῖς συμμετασχοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τό τε σύμπαν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήθη. Tac. *Ann.* I. 2: ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paullatim, etc.; 3: M. Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militiae et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit.

§ 2. ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 2: cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus ex-

tollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia, quam vetera et periculosa, mallent; 1: cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa.

ἐνοίῃ. Mon. Ancyr. c. III: Millia civium Romanorum adacta sacramento fuerunt circiter quingenta. Ex quibus deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendiis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi; c. XV: In coloniis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibus viritum millia nummum singula dedi. Acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colonis hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. Out of the contents of the Royal Treasury in Alexandria, πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενά σφισιν ἔκομισαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὥστε μὴ διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον.— Dio 51. 17. See also Mon. Ancyr. c. XXV: Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem poposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardinia. Qui sub signis meis tum militaverint, fuerunt senatores plures quam DCC.

κρήματα. Octavian had entire control over the revenues of Egypt, the wealthiest region of the Roman world. He had already given proof of his wealth in the assistance rendered to the Aerarium in U.C. 726 (see ch. 2) and in the largess of 400 sesterces a man bestowed on the Plebs Romana in U.C. 725 (Mon. Ancyr. XV: nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibus consul quintum dedi).

σύμμαχοι, such as Amyntas of Galatia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, the "primores" of the Gallic cantons, and the provincials generally, who held Octavian in very high esteem, much higher than they accorded to the Senate; "suspecto senatus populi imperio, ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratum".

καὶ τὸ μέγιστον κ.τ.λ. Naturally, as the long-drawn-out misery of discord had under his auspices come to an end. "cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." His προστασία meant peace.

§ 3. οὐδ' ἐρεῖ τις κ.τ.λ. But it was said: see Tac. Ann. I. 10, and below, c. II § 5.

ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν . . . ἔθνη. Mon. Ancyr. XXXIV: In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia extinxeram; per consensum universorum potius rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populi Romani arbitrium transtuli. This transference occupied Octavian in the year 726 (his sixth consulate—B.C. 28) as well as in the year 727. "Reddidisse Augustum rem publicam non uno actu, sed continuo biennio a. 726-727 praeter ipsum etiam Dio significat: reddendi enim erant populo exercitus provinciae magistratus reditusque. Pertinet ad rem publicam

redditam, quod de consulatu a. 726 Dio adnotavit (53. 1.), Caesarem secundum consuetudinem antiquam alternis mensibus fasces tradidisse collegae Agrippae et abeuntem magistratum eiuravisse. Vel maxime pertinet eorum quae per bella civilia contra ius legesque erant constituta abolitio edicta, qua hisce terminus constitutus est a. 726 (Tac. *Ann.* III. 28, Dio 53. 2). Sed longe gravissimum maximumque erat negotium provinciarum omnium cum suis exercitibus Senatui restituendarum" (Mommson, on Mon. Ancy. I. c.). In Bk. 52 Dio represents Octavian as discussing the restoration of the Republic in conference with Agrippa and Maecenas, in the year of his fifth consulate = U.C. 725, B.C. 29. Of the *restitutio provinciarum* we have evidence for Asia in a *cistophorus* of B.C. 28, bearing on the obverse the head of Caesar, crowned with laurel, and the legend CAESARE. DIVI. F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS. P.R. VINDEXT, and for the provinces generally Ovid *Fast.* I. 589: Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro. The poet gives us to understand that the *restitutio* was completed on the Ides (13th.) of January, U.C. 727.

ἔθνη. See below, note on τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα in § 5.

§ 4. ὅσα αὐτὸς προσεκτεσάμην, Dalmatia and Egypt. With regard to the latter, Augustus asserts on the Mon. Ancy. that he added it to the Empire of the Roman People ("Aegyptum imperio Populi Romani adieci"), though as a matter of fact he kept it apart and very much under his own control (Tac. *Ann.* II. 59, Dio 51. 17). Perhaps the statement on the Mon. Ancy. is to be understood as conveying Augustus' intention.

καταμάθητε. Ev. Matth. vi. 28: καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

ἀλλ' ὄντως ἠθέλησα. Octavian professes to have had in view two things only: (1) vengeance upon the murderers of Julius (2) extrication of the Republic from its evil plight. With regard to (1) compare Mon. Ancy. c. II: Qui parentem meum interfecerunt eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie; Vell. Pat. II. 69: At lege Pedia, quam consul Peditus collega Caesaris tulerat (U.C. 711), omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant, aqua ignique damnatis interdictum erat; Suet. *Aug.* 10: Bella civilia quinque gessit . . . omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, etc.; Tac. *Ann.* I. 9-10: At apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi, pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum. . . Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. . . Dicebatur contra; pietatem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta, ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos

per largitionem veteranos etc. . . . Sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimiciis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere; Suet. *Aug.* 29: Aedem Martis (i.e. the temple of Mars Ultor) bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat. With regard to (2) compare Mon. Ancyr. title: Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit . . . exemplar subiectum; c. I: Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi (Augustus borrowed phrases for this statement from Cicero, *Phil.* III. ii. 3 and 5); c. III: Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi, victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci; c. XXV: Mare pacavi a praedonibus; c. XXVII: Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi. The incorporation of new families in the patrician order (c. VIII: Patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum iussu Populi et Senatus—U.C. 725), and the *lectio Senatus* and *lustratio* in U.C. 726 (ibid., this lustratio being the first that had been held for over forty years) aimed at the restoration and revival of the Republic. On the evil plight of the Roman State in the period U.C. 704-724, see Tac. *Ann.* III. 28: continua per viginti annos discordia; non mos, non ius; Horace *Carm.* III. vi., I. ii., Virgil *Georg.* I. 462-510. Dio represents Octavian as having deliberately, and for years, purposed that which the poets hoped and prayed might be wrought by him.

c. 5. § I. ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, καθάπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. This must be an appeal to the tradition of a Golden Age, in which "neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur etc."—see Tac. *Ann.* III. 26. Horace and Virgil hoped—and were not alone in hoping—for the return of the Golden Age under Octavian's auspices. See the passages quoted in the last note, and *Ecl.* iv. 6: Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, and *Aen.* I. 291-296.

§ 2. εἰμαρμένη τις. The grandeur of Rome and the Caesars is represented by Virgil as irrevocably fore-ordained (*Aen.* I. 257-8, 262 f., VI. 759 f.). The sufferings of Rome, however, were indis-sociable from her grandeur (*Aen.* VI. 828-836).

καίπερ νέον τότε ὄντος. Octavian was only in his nineteenth year when he presented himself before the Senate and People as the heir of Julius. See Mon. Ancyr. I. (quoted above in the note on ἀλλ' ὄντως ἠθέλησα).

προθύμως . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν. I Cor. xv. 10: περισσότερον πάντων ἐκοπίασα.

§ 3. οὐ φίλων δεήσεις. On hearing of Julius' death, Octavian

"urbe repetita hereditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente"—Sueton. *Aug.* 8.

ἀφειδῶς. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est . . . quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur. . . . Quare quassato corpore neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat. He was sick at the time of the battle of Philippi, and when his camp was stormed, had a narrow escape from death (Ibid. 91.)

§ 4. αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδέν κ.τ.λ. II. Cor. xii. 15: ἥδιστα δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε = salvi et sani evenitis.

ἡ τύχη. In § 2 Octavian ascribes all that has happened to εἰμαρμένη. The two things may be regarded as one. Εἰμαρμένη is the world-movement in its aspect and character of unchangeableness ("manent *immota* tuorum fata tibi"). Τύχη is that world-movement in its character of incalculableness ("fatorum arcana"). What will come, will come. But of what sort it will be, or how it will come, who can tell?

ἐλευθερίαν. The *Lex Titia* (a. d. v. Kal. Dec. u.c. 711) had conferred upon the "Tresviri rei publicae constituendae" authority to repeal, modify, or grant dispensations from, the existing laws; it had provided that their edicts should have the binding force of laws; had authorized them to appoint consuls and other magistrates; had exempted them from 'intercessio'; had given them full power over the treasury, the public domain, customs, taxation, peace and war, the armies and the government of the provinces. This law was to be in force only to the end of u.c. 716. It is not certain that it was re-enacted; on the other hand, it is certain that there was no formal abdication by the Tresviri at the end of 716 or the beginning of 717, no declaration that the old polity had been restored. One of the characteristic notes of that polity had been the primacy of the consuls. The consulate was associated in tradition with liberty; "libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 1). But the consulate continued to be overshadowed by the triumvirate after the expiry of the five years provided for by the *Lex Titia*. The triumvirate continued to control the affairs of the Republic as though no term had been fixed for their tenure of office and power. Octavian indeed might be said to have already "laid aside the title of triumvir" when he undertook the defence of Italy against Antony and Cleopatra in u.c. 723, for he was one of the consuls of that year, and the conduct of such an enterprise as the *Bellum Actiacum* by a consul was quite in agreement with old republican practice. But in u.c. 723 the East, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, was controlled by

one who had become alienated from the Republic, and even when those provinces had been brought back again under the *imperium* of the Senate and People of Rome by the victories of Octavian, there was still needed a formal declaration that the epoch of provisional government was over, and that the ancient polity had been reinstated.

δημοκρατίαν = rem publicam, "munia Senatus, magistratuum, legum" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 2). Mon. Ancyr. xxxiv: rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. In 52. 1 Dio divides the history of Rome, down to U.C. 725, into three epochs, (1) ἡ βασιλεία, (2) ἡ δημοκρατία, (3) αἱ δυναστεῖαι. The use of δημοκρατία to describe the Roman polity in the period 245-695 U.C. (= B.C. 509-59, after which δυναστεία continued till the end of the civil wars) seems to be somewhat inaccurate. It may be justified, however, on the ground that the magistrate *cum imperio* exercised, as representative of the community, its supreme authority in dealings with the individual (Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, §§ 149, 154). Again, the provinces were "sub imperio Populi Romani". Thus in the Mon. Ancyr. title, we find "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit"; in c. xxx, Παννονίων ἔθνη . . . ἡγεμονία δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα = Pannoniorum nationes . . . imperio Populi Romani subieci.

τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, the provinces and the dependent states (such as Galatia, Cappadocia, Judaea, Mauretania). The term ἔθνη is used as a rendering (though not a very accurate one) of "provinciae" by Greek writers: compare c. 12 below. Its proper equivalent in Latin is "nationes", which in the mouth of a Roman was frequently a word of contempt, very much as "Goyyim" in that of an Israelite. Provincial boundaries were not coincident with those which we call ethnographical. In the province of Asia, for example, there was more than one "natio" or "ἔθνος" (Phrygians, Carians, Mysians, Greeks). Again there were Greeks and Jews in every province between the Adriatic and the Euphrates. The provinces, however, comprised the homes of "nationes", ἔθνη.

c. 6. § 1. ἐπιείκειαν = clemency. Comp. Mon. Ancyr. c. III and Vell. Pat. c. II. 86, quoted above in the note on c. 4 § 1 τὸ τε γὰρ στασιάζαν . . . σεσωφρόνισται. Suetonius (*Aug.* 27) says that when the Triumvirate was formed, Octavian "restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit" and (*ibid.* 13) that after the fighting at Philippi "capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statuæ Caesari subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit." On the other hand, he says (*ibid.* 51.) that "Clementiae

civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt", but this assertion must be understood with reference to occasions of later date than the first two years of the Triumvirate. In his treatment of Lepidus, whom he found attempting to seduce his army in Sicily, B.C. 36 (Suet. *Aug.* 16, Dio 49. 12), Octavian certainly showed some clemency. Dio (47. 7) represents Antony and Lepidus as more active in the December massacres of U.C. 711 than Octavian: ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα . . . ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωνίαν, γίνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γε οὐδὲν τι συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνειν ἐδεήθη. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὤμους ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. . . . σημείον δὲ ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξε. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους. But the same author relates (51. 2) that after the victory at Actium Octavian τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο. Again, there is the story of Maecenas' warning message, "Surge, carnifex" (Dio 55. 7), in connection with which Dio remarks that Augustus ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθοῦτο. His clemency appears not to have been so natural and spontaneous as Caesar's, in honour of which a sanctuary was voted by the Senate (Dio 44. 6 ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν).

πρόβητα. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV. c. 11: βούλεται ὁ πρῶος ἀτάραχος εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους . . . , οὐ γὰρ τιμωρητικός ὁ πρῶος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συγγνωμονικός. It can hardly be maintained that Octavian was never overpowered by a desire for vengeance. He was πικρὸς rather than πρῶος, cf. Arist. 1. c.: οἱ δὲ πικροὶ δυσδιάλυτοι, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀργίζονται· κατέχουσι γὰρ τὸν θυμόν. For the association of ἐπιεικεία and πρόβητα compare II Cor. x. 1 and Titus iii. 2. In Acts xxiv. 4 ἐπιεικεία is attributed by flattering insinuation to a procurator of Judaea as characteristic of his government. I Peter ii. 18 exhibits ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς in antithesis to σκολιοί.

ἀπραγμοσύνην. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VI. 9. 1142 a 1-2: καὶ δοκεῖ ὁ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰδὼς καὶ διατρίβων φρόνιμος εἶναι, οἱ δὲ πολιτικοὶ πολυπράγμονες· διὸ Εὐριπίδης

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοῖν, ᾧ παρὴν ἀπραγμόνων
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἡριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ
ἵσον μετασχεῖν;

Octavian disclaims any imputation of overbearing self-assertiveness, of a disposition to interfere with or make trouble for (πράγματα παρέχειν) his fellow-citizens, of indulging a "cupido dominandi".

οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐθ' ὑπέρογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς. Comp. Mon. Ancyr. c. VI: ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθι διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην. The powers which he had exercised as triumphvir might justly be accounted of as ἐξουσία ὑπέρογκος, but they could hardly be said to have been voted by the Senate. After the victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus (U.C. 718), honours of no ordinary kind were voted him, but some of them he declined. Οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει says Dio (49-15) ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδόν, καὶ εἰκόνας, καὶ προεδρίαν, ἀψίδα τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐσελάσαι, τό τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐνενικήκει ἱερομηνία αἰδῖω οὔσῃ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου μετὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἐστιᾶσθαι, ἔδωκαν ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο . . . τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρήκατο . . . καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου ἱερωσύνην διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν ζῶντὰ τινὰ ἀφελέσθαι· καὶ ἅλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ προσεψηφίσαντο τότε δὲ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὸ μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτόν τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι, οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέζεσθαι σφίσιν ἔλαβε. Precedents, however, could be found for these in the honours conferred at various times between 705 and 710 U.C. upon Julius Caesar. After the victory at Actium, yet more, and more honourable decrees; among which we find orders for adding to the festal calendar the anniversaries of the arrival of the news of the victory over Antony's fleet, of Octavian's birthday, and of the capture of Alexandria. Furthermore, "that Caesar should hold the *tribunicia potestas* for life (τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν) and exercise of the *ius auxilii* for the benefit of all appellants, not only within the pomerium, but also for a distance of four stadia beyond it, a range of jurisdiction allowed to none of the tribunes." He also obtained authority to try cases on appeal, and to give a casting-vote when those of the jury (*iudices*) were equally balanced. Pontiffs and Vestals were instructed to make particular mention of his name in the State prayers, along with the names of the Senate and the People, and libations were to be poured to his Genius at all banquets, public and private. He was also authorized to add as many members to the pontifical college as he wished. All these honours, πλὴν βραχέων, he accepted. Dio does not say what the few exceptions were—or rather, he mentions only one, that the Vestals, the Senate, and all the People should come to meet Octavian at the gates of the city on his return. But indeed Octavian's whole *cursus honorum* was extraordinary. "Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuosque recepit" says Suetonius (*Aug.* 26); "consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit", and he had been elected

consul eleven times before he attained the age appointed by the old *lex annalis*—viz. forty-three. The *tribunicia potestas* held for life set him above all the tribunes of the plebs, and indeed above all the magistrates of the Republic. "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen adpellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 56). Granting that Tacitus had in view the *tribunicia potestas* as it became when the principate had been in existence a good many years, still this life-tenure of power of general control was from the first something unknown to old republican tradition. Octavian's assertion, then, that he had accepted no honour that was excessive or eclipsed other magistracies was a bold challenge to his hearers' capacity for forgetting facts and events.

οἰκουμένης. Polybius VIII. 4: τὸ πάντα τὰ γνωρίζομενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀγαγεῖν (sc. the ἀρχή of the Roman People). Mōn. Ancy. c. XXXIV: per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium; title: orbem terrarum imperio Populi Romani subiecit. In Acts xi. 28, xvii. 6, xix. 27 and Ev. Luc. ii. 1, ἡ οἰκ. = "the Empire".

§ 3. *ἰδιωτεύσαι*, "to retire into privacy", inchoative aorist; compare Ep. Rom. xiii. 11: ἡ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν = "than when we became believers"; also *αὐταρχῆσαι* = *αὐτοκράτωρ γενέσθαι* c. 11 § 4, and *δέκατον ἦρξε* "he entered upon his tenth consulship" c. 28, § 1.

§ 4. *εὐεργετήσθε*. Octavian is addressing the Senate, reminding that august order of benefits conferred by himself and by Julius. Suetonius, *Iulius* c. 75, enlarges on the clemency displayed by Julius in the civil war, clemency which especially affected members of the Senate: "Tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignoverat cunctis in Italiam redire permisit magistratusque et imperia capere." But on the whole it can hardly be said that Julius was a real benefactor to the Senate. Its power and influence suffered diminution, while its numbers obtained considerable increase under his government (Sueton. *Iulius* c. 41). For most of the time from the death of Julius to the end of the civil wars Octavian must be regarded as the person chiefly responsible for the character and composition of the Senate. When Octavian held a "lectio Senatus" in connection with the census in U.C. 726 it numbered over a thousand members—"numerus affluens deformi et incondita turba" (Sueton. *Aug.* 35.)—a considerable proportion of them being quite unworthy of their station. Octavian made at least a commencement of restoring the prestige of the order by ejecting some two hundred of these discreditable senators on that occasion. He also made grants to senators whose "census" or estate fell below the minimum required as one of the qualifications for a seat in the Curia. Both Julius and

Octavian recruited the ranks of the *patricii*. The "adlecti" would, of course, be members of the Senate. In both cases the reason, we must suppose, was the same, viz. havoc made in the ranks of the patricians by civil strife. Dio expressly asserts this in connection with Octavian's "adlectio patriciorum" held in U.C. 726: τό τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς δῆθεν ἐπιτρέψασης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ τό τε πλείστον σφῶν ἀπολώλει, οὐδέν γάρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται, καὶ ἐς τὴν ποιήσιν τῶν πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι αἰεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται (52.42). But for no small part of this shedding of patrician blood Octavian is reported to have been guilty by his obstinate ferocity in the proscriptions of U.C. 711 (see above, note on ἐπιείκειαν).

τὴν μοναρχίαν διδόντων ὑμῶν. The Senate and People conferred upon Julius a life-tenure of both the consulate and the dictatorship. Now "perpetua dictatura" was only another name for "regnum imperium". The Senate could say that they had not offered to Julius either the title of "rex" or the diadem. When Antony offered a diadem to Julius at the Lupercalia of U.C. 710, there was "gemitus toto foro" and loud applause when Julius rejected it. Julius gave orders that the occurrence should be recorded in the Fasti, under the date of the Lupercalia, as follows: "C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonius consul Populi iussu regnum detulit, Caesar uti noluit" (Cicero *Phil.* II. 34, 84-87). But the "gemitus toto foro" and the "plangor Populi" showed that Antony was *not* acting "iussu Populi". But it was "iussu Populi" and "auctoritate Senatus" that Julius was "dictator perpetuus", and the dictator was, in the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5. 73), μόναρχος πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος αὐτοκράτωρ.

C. 7. § 1. τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν. The subjugation of Pannonia can hardly be said to have been even begun before U.C. 742 = B.C. 12. Tiberius conducted three campaigns beyond the Julian Alps in the years U.C. 742, 743, 744 (B.C. 12, 11, 10) but "the Roman armies, during these campaigns, hardly ever crossed the Drave, and did not in any case transfer their standing camp to the Danube" (Mommson, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I. 23). Pannonia was not completely conquered and annexed until after the Batonian War, A.D. 6-9 (*op. cit.* I. 40-42). Dio is guilty of anachronism here.

τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν. Moesia (as its name is in Latin), the territory between the Save, the Danube, and the Balkan mountains (modern Serbia and Bulgaria) was brought under Roman authority and control by Marcus Licinius Crassus, governor of Macedonia, in U.C. 725 and 726 (Dio 51. 23-27; Mommson *op. cit.* I. 13-15).

The Greek form, *Μυσία*, either indicates kinship between the inhabitants of this region and the *Μυσοί* of north-western Asia Minor, or it may be due to identity in pronunciation of *υ* and *οι*.

τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφὴν, Dio 51. 1-17; Sueton. *Aug.* 17; Virgil *Aen.* viii. 671-713.

τὸν Φαρνάκην, τὸν Ἰούβαν. See Mommsen, *History of Rome*. Bk. V. ch. x.

τὸν Φραάτην. Octavian had not as yet (U.C. 727) achieved anything, either by diplomacy or force of arms, which could be spoken of as a victory over Phraates. It was not until U.C. 731 that Phraates undertook to restore the standards taken from Crassus and Antony, and this promise was not fulfilled until U.C. 734. Here is another instance of anachronism on Dio's part.

τοὺς Βρεττανούς. In U.C. 699 and 700. Caesar *B. G.* IV. 20-36, V. 1-23.

ῥήνου διάβασιν. In U.C. 699 and 701. Caesar *B. G.* IV. 16-19, VI. 9-10.

§ 2 φιλανθρώπως—See note on c. 6, § 1 ἐπιείκειαν.

τὴν πόλιν νοσήσαι. Comp. Herodotus v. 28: [ἡ Μίλητος] νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι.

ἐκφρονῆσαι. Comp. Herodotus III. 80: κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρημένον ἢ μοναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοσημάτων στήσειε.

ἐς τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετήματων. See ch. 2. Besides the *εὐεργετήματα* there mentioned, there were largesses to the soldiery and the urba populace (Mon. Ancy. xv: *Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei, et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi. . . . In coloniis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi*), the remission of the *aurum coronarium* to the Italian municipalities (Mon. Ancy. xxi: *auri coronari pondo triginta et quinque millia municipiis et colonis Italiae conferentibus ad triumphos meos quintum consul remisi*), the restoration of peace after so many years of civil war (Velleius Paterculus II. 89: *Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor . . . pacatus victoriis terrarum orbis*), the suppression of piracy and servile insurrections (Mon. Ancy. xxv: *Mare pacavi a praedonibus; xxvii: Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili recipravi*), and the revival of trade following upon the reintegration of the Empire.

προσιέμεθα.. So Dindorf, but surely the true reading is *προϊέμεθα*.

c. 8. § 1. μεγαλοψυχότερος.. Dio represents Octavian's offer to

surrender the armies, provinces, etc., as insincere (ch. 11). It is the part of the high-souled man μέλειν τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δόξης, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν φανερώς (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV. 7. 1124. b. 27-29), which is not exactly what Octavian is doing here.

δαιμονιώτερος. Comp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VI. 7. 1141. b. 7: θαυμαστά καὶ δαιμόνια.

στρατιώτας τοσούτους. Mon. Ancyr. c. III: deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi.

πλὴν ὀλίγων. The only exception that could be made was the coastland of Mauretania, and even that was more apparent than real, for "Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum Populi Romani" (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 5).

§ 2. αὐτεπάγγελτος. Herodotus VII. 29, Demosthenes, *De Corona* 247. 25.

οὐσίας. Herodotus VI. 86: ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεια πάσης τῆς οὐσίης ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, Ev. Luc. XV. 12-13.

§ 3. ὥστ' εἶπερ . . . ὑπερβαλῶ. Φιλοτιμία ψεκτὴ, τῆς τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενου ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὥς οὐ δεῖ ἀλαζονεύεται γάρ.

§ 4. νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον. Horace seems to have oscillated between confidence and doubt on this matter. On the one hand, "Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit Nos nequiores" (*Carm.* III. 6. 46-7), "Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara Turpis maritus vixit . . . ?" (Ibid. III. 5. 5 f.); on the other, "Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis" (the direct reference is to Tiberius and Drusus; but they could not have conquered Raetia and Vindelicia without armies, and their armies were Roman), "Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas", "Milite nam tuo Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus . . . deiecit" (Ibid. IV. 4. 29, 5. 22, 14. 9 f.). In A.D. 21 the Gaulish notables, Florus and Sacrovir, encouraged their fellow-conspirators by bidding them bethink themselves "quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus, nisi quod externum" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 40). The urban and praetorian cohorts were still recruited for the most part in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and old Roman colonies (*Ann.* IV. 5), but they were not the best-disciplined troops in the army.

πονηροῖς τισι. There is to be no Triumvirate, or Decemvirate, or any such perverse oligarchy.

ὀχλοκρατία. Comp. Hdt. III. 81: καὶ τοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δῆμου ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσέειν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάσχετον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ· τῷ δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν ἐν . . . ὥθελι τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνεν νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἵκελος . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὀμιλίην, τοῦτοισι περιθῶμεν τὸ κράτος

... ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἀριστα βουλευμάτων γίνεσθαι. ὀχλοκρατία is the same as the "extreme democracy" in which the caprices of the populace over-ride statute laws (Arist. *Pol.* IV-VI. 4. 25-31).

§ 5. ὑμῖν τοῦς ἀρ. καὶ φρον. = vobis, optimates qui estis.

ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαι. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well"; "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown". "Better to be dead than to be a king", says Octavian, by way of impressing belief in his sincerity. The particular kind of τυραννίς which Octavian (or Dio) here has in view is that which originates in the desire of the community rather than in the audacity of the usurper. The τύραννος is invited, implored, to assume his power. Compare Jotham's parable (Judges ix. 7 f.), Herodotus III. 82: οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκίψαντες ποιέουσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται, ἐς δ' ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιοῦτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. θωυμαζόμενος δὲ ἂν' ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος εἶναι, and I. 96-98 (the story of Deïokes, king of the Medes). The invitation to "come and be king over us" may be prepared for by "enlightened selfishness", but it is the multitude (or the principal men among them) who invite, implore, and may even offer the alternative "be thou my ruler, or I will slay thee"—which comes to very much the same thing as "ἢ μ' ἀνείρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σέ."

§ 6. πεπότημαι κ.τ.λ. Octavian was in his thirty-sixth year. But he had done and suffered enough, since he was nineteen, to make an old man of him before his time.

φθόνον, μῖσος. Sophocles *Ajax*. 157: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει.

§ 7. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς κ.τ.λ. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* I. II: Proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus executuros.

C. 9. § I. οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Comp. Arist. *Pol.* III. 4. 10: ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖται γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ἢ ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς.

§ 2. ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὺς ἐμαντῶ συνοῖδα. Comp. Acts xxiii. 1: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνείδῃσι ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, and I Cor. iv. 4: οὐδὲν ἐμαντῶ συνοῖδα.

πιστεύω. Comp. the use of πιστεύω in Herodotus VIII. 110: τοῖσι ἐπίστευσε σιγᾶν, "whom he relied on to keep silence".

§ 3. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένον. How can anything take place πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένον or τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὥρας, if τὸ εἰμαρμένον is irrevocably fixed? "Sed mihi, haec et talia audienti, in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili, an forte voluntur" (Tac. *Ann.* VI. 22).

§ 4. οὐκ ἐφόνευσα . . . κατασχέιν. Contrast Tac. *Ann.* I. 10.

προσαπέθανον. So Dindorf: *qu. προαπέθανον?*

τοῦ δαιμονίου. Comp. Hdt. v. 87, Demosth. *Phil.* III.

124, 26.

§5. *ισόθεος*. Even in his lifetime, Julius Caesar had received divine honours, culminating in the title of Iuppiter Iulius and a temple to his Clemency, with the appointment of Antony as his flamen (Sueton. *Iulius*, c. 76, Dio 43. 14, 21 and 45. 44, 4 and 6.). After his death, the people set up a column of Numidian marble, nearly twenty feet in height, in the Forum, with the inscription PARENTI PATRIAE, which alone was enough to place him on a level with Iuppiter and Mars. "Apud eam longo tempore *sacrificare, vota suscipere*, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit" (Suet. *Iulius* 85). The triumph in U.C. 712 began the erection of a temple (*ἡρώον*) of Julius in the Forum, on the spot where his corpse had been cremated. The anniversary of his birthday was once again made a public festival, the observance of which was to be enforced by penalties for neglect—a fine of 250,000 denarii for any senator or senator's son; the wrath of Iuppiter and Divus Iulius for any one of lesser degree. The "aedes Divi Iuli" is mentioned by Augustus in the Mon. Ancyr. c. XIX, among the temples built or restored by him. It was dedicated U.C. 725 (Dio 51. 22). In the same year he gave permission to the Roman citizens residing in Asia and Bithynia to erect temples in Ephesus and Nicaea to Rome and Divus Iulius (Dio 51. 20).

κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. Comp. Ev. Matth. xxi. 41: *κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς*. Sueton. *Iulius* 89: Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius supervixit, neque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes alius alio casu perit, pars naufragio, pars proelio: nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Caesarem violaverant, interemerunt.

ἀθάνατοι γάρ. Compare the disbelief in a future life expressed by the elder Caesar (Sallust, *de coniur. Catil.* 51). Octavian had given permission to the provincials (not Roman citizens) of Asia and Bithynia to render him divine honours (Dio 51. 20). His name had been inserted along with those of the gods in the Carmen Saliare and other sacred chants (Dio l. c., Mon. Ancyr. x: Nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in Saliare Carmen). Libations were poured to him, as to a god, at meals public and private (Hor. *Carm.* IV. 5. 29-36, Dio 51. 19). He had completed and dedicated the temple of Divus Iulius, and instituted the *cultus* of his adoptive father in Asia and Bithynia (See note on c. 9 § 5 *ισόθεος*). Virgil had purposed to build him a temple at Mantua (*Georg.* III. 13 f.). Horace had pleaded with him to delay his return to heaven (*Carm.*

I. I. 45 f.). His only hope of immortality, however, (the essence of divinity) lay in being remembered by the generations that were yet for to come.

“—usque ego postera

Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium

Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.”

§ 6. ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ., “Vobis reddo exercitus provincias vectigalia leges”.

τὸ μέγεθος = “moles” in Tac. *Ann.* I. II. Comp. Sueton. *Tiberius*, 24: adhortantis amicos increpans ut ignaros quanta bellua esset imperium.

δυσμεταχείριστον. Suet. *Tiberius*, 25: ut saepe lupum se auribus tenere diceret.

C. IO. § I. τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε. Comp. Thucyd. III. 37: πάντων δὲ δεινότατον, εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξη πέρι, μήδε γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χεῖροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσω ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις· ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, Arist. *Pol.* IV-VI. 4. 30-31: ὅπου γὰρ μὴ νόμοι ἄρχουσιν, οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ’ ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν.

§ 2. ὅσα προσταττοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* V. 3 (I). 1129. b. 12 sq.: πάντα τὰ νόμιμα ἐστὶ πως δίκαια προσταττεῖ δ’ ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρείου ἔργα ποιεῖν, οἷον μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος, οἷον μὴ μοιχεύειν μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πρῶου, οἷον μὴ τύπτειν μηδὲ κακηγορεῖν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς καὶ μοχθηρίας, τὰ μὲν κελεύων τὰ δ’ ἀπαγορεύων. . . .

μὴ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. The antithesis of λόγος and ἔργον here is the antithesis set forth by St. Paul as that of γράμμα and πνεῦμα. See Ep. Rom. ii. 29, vii. 6, Ep. II Cor. iii. 6, Ev. Marc. vii. 6-7 (Esa. xxix. 13), Ep. Rom. ii. 21-23 (ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν, μοιχεύεις; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα, ἱεροσυλεῖς; κ.τ.λ.) Ps. xlix (Sept.) 16 seq.

μηδ’ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* V. I. c.: πολλὰκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη [being ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἕτερον] καὶ τελεία μάλιστα ἀρετὴ, ὅτι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χρῆσις ἐστίν, τελεία δ’ ἐστίν, ὅτι ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον δύναται τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον καθ’ αὐτόν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσιν.

τιμωρίας . . . τιμῶν, “that you may come by commendation, not condemnation.”

§ 3. εἰρηνικάς, “civil”. The distinction of civil and military offices had existed for long enough under the Republic. Aediles and urban quaestors held ἀρχὰς εἰρηνικάς, so again did the tribunes of the plebs, if the tribunate may be reckoned as an ἀρχή

and not μάλλον ἀντίταξις ἀρχῆς. The censorship again was an ἀρχὴ εἰρηνικὴ, and the prefectures in the municipia. The consulate and the praetorship comprised military as well as civilian functions; they were ἀρχαὶ διφυεῖς, especially in their provincial forms. Under the principate, one finds the proconsulate made a civilian office (c. 13), while that of the legates governing Caesarean provinces combined civil with military occupations, as also did the procuratorship in certain instances. The prefecture of the praetorium, originally a military office, became a civilian one in the third century A.D. In the reorganization of the Empire begun by Diocletian, the distinction of civilian from military offices was made complete.

τοῖς δὲ ἀρίστοις κ.τ.λ. Arist. *Pol.* III. 7. 3: καλεῖν δ' εἰώθαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέπουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειόνων δ' ἐνὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἣ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄρχειν, ἣ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῆς. In Aristotle's ideal polity, the citizen-body is identical with the governing class, and consists exclusively of the men of war, the men of counsel, and the priests (*Pol.* VII-IV. 9.). The Senate, in Rome, consisted of men of war, men of counsel, and priests. There was no such provision, however, in Rome as there was in Aristotle's polity for making sure that these men should be ἄριστοι.

§ 4. τοὺς μὲν τοιοῦτους τιμᾷτε κ.τ.λ.. Comp. Ep. I Thess. v. 12-13, and 14.

πολιτευομένους. Comp. Act. Apost. xxiii. 1; Ep. Philipp. i. 27.

τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινά. Comp. Thucyd. I. 70: ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, II. 43: κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα δίδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον.

ἀπέχεσθε. Polybius VI. 55: παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις σπάνιον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἀπεχόμενον ἄνδρα τῶν δημοσίων, καὶ καθαρεύοντα περὶ ταῦτα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σπάνιον ἐστὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τινὰ πεφωραμένον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει. This was written about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Polybius accounts for the honesty of the Romans by their δεισιδαιμονία, the influence of which, he says, permeates all life and affairs, public and private. It was this religion and its salutary restraints and constraints that Octavian endeavoured to revive and restore.

τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' κ.τ.λ. (a) Comp. Ev. Luc. xi. 21, xii. 15.

OR (b) Tac. *Ann.* I. 11: addiderat consilium coercendi inter terminos imperii.

§ 5. τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους κ.τ.λ. Virgil *Aen.* VI. 852-4; Juvenal *Sat.* viii. 87 f:

Exspectata diu tandem provincia cum te
 Rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque
 Pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum.
 Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.

Respice, quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet—

Juvenal's "sociorum" covers τοὺς ὑπηκόους as well as τοὺς συμμάχους of Dio. The term "socii" no longer denoted any Italian communities, but "allied" communities outside Italy. The terms of alliance were more favourable in some cases than in others. Tacitus uses "socii" in the sense of "provincials" (i.e. people inhabiting a region under direct Roman government); see *Ann.* III. 66, IV. 15.

ἀδικεῖτε. A veiled reference, possibly, to the attempts at conquest beyond the Euphrates made by Crassus (B.C. 53) and Antony (B.C. 36-35). The verb ἀδικεῖν is here used in the sense of "ultra petere".

μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλων. Virgil *Aen.* VI. 833-4.

§ 6. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας κ.τ.λ. (a) At the beginning of Tiberius' principate, we find the legionary receiving 10 *asses* a day, out of which various charges, reasonable or the reverse, had to be met. Bounties were given to time-expired men: Augustus says in the *Mon. Ancy.* (c. XVI) that he expended 4,000,000 sesterces in bounties in the period from the consulate of Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso to that of L. Caninius and Q. Fabricius (U.C. 747-752). The *aerarium militare* was founded in A.D. 6 to provide for the regular payment of these bounties. Property acquired in the course of military service by a "filius familias" could be dealt with by him as his own, not being reckoned "in corpore census omne tenet cuius regimen pater". The mutineers in Pannonia and Germany, A.D. 14, complained of being under-paid, but Tacitus represents this complaint as a mere pretence. See *Mon. Ancy.* c. XVII (institution of the *aerarium militare*), *Juv. Sat.* xvi. 51-54, *Tac. Ann.* I. 16, 35, 78. (b) One kind of συνοχή was the keeping of the rank and file constantly occupied with "munia castrensia": see *Tac. Ann.* I, 16. XIII. 35, 53. Juvenal's sixteenth Satire illustrates θρασύτης στρατιωτική, as also does John Baptist's advice to the soldiers (*Ev. Luc.* iii. 14.). *Comp. Plato Rep.* II. 375, III. 416.

§ 7. τοιοῦτους ἀπέδειξα. *Comp. Vell. Pat.* II. 89: Nihil deinde optare a diis homines, nihil dii hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post reditum in urbem rei publicae Populoque Romano terrarumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudicii auctoritas, Senatui maiestas. . . Prisca illa et antiqua reipublicae forma revocata rediit cultus agris,

sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio . . .

c. 11. With the scene of dissimulation described in this chapter compare the contents of Tacitus *Ann.* i. 11-13 and Sueton. *Tiberius* 24. The sum and substance of Tiberius' "deprecatio" is that of Octavian's—"in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa, nolite ad unum omnia deferre: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsequantur". Tacitus' comment on Tiberius' discourse "de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia" might also be applied to the oration ascribed by Dio to Octavian—"plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat." Both Tacitus and Suetonius make it plain that while Tiberius discoursed *ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν*. Of Octavian, as of Tiberius, it may be said that one reason why he made a show of preparing to retire into private life was "ut vocatus electusque a re publica videretur [imperitare]", and another that he desired to test the mind of the Senate (*Ann.* i. 7: cf. c. 2 § 6 above).

κατελάμβανεν = gradually took possession of them, while the reading of the speech was in progress (*ἀναλέγοντος*).

δλίγοι, viz. οἱ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδευοι τῶν βουλευτῶν (ch. 2. § 7).

§ 2. *περιτέχνησις* = astus.

πραγματεία = propositum.

τὸ τε γὰρ δημ. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 2: cum novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallerent. See also III. 28.

§ 3. There were (A) those who believed that Octavian said what he meant and meant what he said. Of these (a) those who wished it to be so, who believed because they wished that he would retire, were afraid to show their pleasure, while (b) those who believed him, but wished that he would not retire and hoped that eventually he would not, could not show pleasure over a proposal which meant the disappointment of their hopes (sc. of advancing by his help). On the other hand (B) there were those who did not believe that Octavian was speaking seriously; these were either unwilling or afraid to express their real opinion and sentiments.

§ 4. *διεβδων*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 11: Ac patres, quibus unus metus, si intelligere viderentur, in questus, lacrimas, vota effundi, etc. *μοναρχεῖσθαι δεόμενοι*. "Quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?" "Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium, quam ut ab uno regatur." "Unum est rei publicae corpus, atque ab uno regendum."

κατηνάρκασαν δῆθεν. Tac. *Ann.* i. 13: fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum, flexit paulatim. . . . Suet. *Tiberius*, 24: Tandem, quasi coactus, et querens miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem, recepit imperium.

αὐταρχῆσαι = αὐτοκράτωρ γενέσθαι. Comp. note on c. 6 § 3 ἰδιωτεῦσαι.

§ 5. τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν, "iis, quos in cohortes praetorias delecturus erat".

διπλάσιον τὸν μισθόν. The difference between the pay of the praetorians and that of the legionaries had become still greater by the beginning of Tiberius' reign, when the former were getting two denarii a day, and the latter ten asses, at sixteen asses to the denarius (Tac. *Ann.* i. 17). Possibly Dio thought that the legionaries were paid a denarius a day.

ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχη. Plato *Rep.* VIII. 566: τὸ δὴ τυραννικὸν αἶτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον . . . αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακὰς τινὰς τοῦ σώματος. Aristotle, *Pol.* III. 14. 1285 24, VIII (V). 10. 1311. a. 8, finds that the bodyguard of a *king* is composed of his own compatriots, but that of a *tyrant* is drawn from foreign countries. But Pisistratus' κορυνηφόροι were Athenians (Hdt. i. 59). Octavian became sovereign over the Roman State (αὐταρχῶν) with the consent, and at the urgent instance, of the Senate, the best of the citizens, although—if we are to believe Dio—he was quite resolved in any case to retain the sovereignty he already held *de facto*, which purpose one might call φρόνημα τυραννικόν. His δορυφόροι, the Praetorians, were however not foreigners, but natives of Italy and *cives Romani* (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 5).

οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς κ.τ.λ. = "So sincere was his desire to lay down his absolute power." Compare Tac. *Ann.* i. 10. Augustus' detractors represented "cupido dominandi" as the determining motive in his career.

c. 12. § 1. ἡγεμονίαν. Comp. Ev. Luc. iii. 1 and Polyb. VIII. 4: τῆς ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας.

παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου. The express mention of the *people* implies that a *law* ("lex est, quod Populus Romanus iubet") was passed, sanctioning the agreement made between Octavian and the Senate. The title of such a law would be "Lex de imperio C. Iulii C. F. Caesaris." See Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408, for the text of the Lex de imperio Vespasiani, passed U.C. 822, A.D. 69.

δημοτικός: civilis. Comp. Dio 46-55 (the conference of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian at Bononia): καὶ διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν. ἵνα δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἀντικρυς ἐφίεσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς φθόνος κἄκ τούτου καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων γένηται, τάδε διωμολογήσαντο. κοινῇ μὲν τοῖς τρεῖς, πρὸς τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπιμελητάς τε τινὰς καὶ διορθωτάς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς αἰὲν ἔσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔτη πέντε, αἰρεθῆναι ἰδίᾳ δὲ δὴ, ὅπως μὴ καὶ πᾶσαν

τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίζεσθαι νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τὴν τε Λιβύην ἐκατέρα καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν· Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν· Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν . . . ἄρχειν δοθῆναι . . . , and 56: ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω διέλαχον, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἰσχυρότατα λάβωσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ πάντων ὀργινᾶσθαι παράσχωσι. For the agreement of U.C. 727 comp. Suet. *Aug.* 47: Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit: et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. . . . Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta duntaxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit.

§ 2. πολεμίους προσοίκους ἔχοντα. Comp. Mon. Ancyr. c. XXVI: Omnium provinciarum Populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro, fines auxi.

νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα, Egypt, in particular. Tac. *Ann.* II. 59: Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris, quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus, insedisset. According to Dio, 51, 17, Octavian made Cornelius Gallus, an *eques*, prefect of Egypt: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πολυάνδρον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τὸ τε κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐνεπιδημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ἂν μὴ τινι αὐτὸς ὀνομαστί συγχωρήσῃ, 52-42: καὶ προσαπέειπε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευούσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς τινι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ φυλάσσεται. πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἔς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμῶσε ἄλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδημῆσαι ἔξεστιν. (Dio wrote in the days of Alexander Severus, who was Emperor from 222 to 235 C.E.)

§ 3. ἔργῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ. i.e. his real purpose was to put the Senate in a position, with regard to himself, similar to that into which the Ionian allies allowed themselves to decline, with regard to Athens (Thucyd. I. 99).

§ 4. ἐνομίσθη, "the custom was instituted". Cf. c. 14 § 5, c. 17 § 11 and τὸ νομιζόμενον c. 1 § 1. Nearly all the older provinces of the Empire were assigned to the Senate. Sicily and Sardinia and Baetica had been acquired in the third century B.C., Africa, Macedonia and Asia in the second.

Ἀφρικῇ. Horace *Carm.* III. xvi. 31: fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae, *Sat.* II. iii. 87: Frumentum quantum metit Africa.

Νουμιδία. There was still a king and kingdom of Numidia, under the protectorate of Rome. But the greater part of Numidia

had become Romanized, and in U.C. 729 Augustus formed a new realm for the Numidian king, consisting of Mauretania and part of Gaetulia. See c. 26.

Ἀσία. Greenidge, *Hist. of Rome*, I. pp. 129-130, 172-187: Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. pp. 325, 346-350: Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia* 6, 14. Tacitus, *Ann.* III. 60-63, IV. 15, 5; 36, 2-3 55-57; Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, ch. x.

ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου. Note that Dio does not use here the name Achaia, by which the Roman province, consisting of Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus was usually denoted (as, e.g., in Act. Ap. xviii. 12, Ep. Cor. II. xi. 10). It was only in U.C. 727 that the province Achaia was formed. From 608 to 727 U.C. there were Greek city-states and cantons allied with Rome, and controlled by the Senate in respect of external relations, while enjoying internal autonomy. The territories of Thebes, Corinth, and Chalcis were "agri vectigales", owned by the *Populus Romanus*. But there was no "province" of Greece, in the sense of a defined area under the administration of a Roman magistrate specially appointed thereto, nor was Greece included in the "province" of Macedonia—See Holm, *History of Greece*, IV, 412-413, 424-431 (Eng. trans.).

τὸ Δελματικόν. The Dalmatians were subdued by Octavian after much hard fighting (mostly the reduction of hill-fortresses) in the years U.C. 718-721. See Dio 49. 34-38, Sueton. *Augustus* 20. Dio uses the term *τὸ Δελματικόν* instead of *Δαλματία* because the province included other territory besides Dalmatia, viz. the Pannonian land between the Save and the Drave. Compare *τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν*, Illyricum, denoting a region containing other than Illyrian territory properly so called, and *τὸ Μακεδονικόν*, denoting the province Macedonia, which contained other territory in addition to the country of the *Μακεδόνες*.

Κρήτη μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς περὶ Κυρήνην. Crete and "the parts of Libya about Cyrene" (Act. Ap. ii. 10) had been coupled together as one province since U.C. 680.

Βιθυνία. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, had bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman People in U.C. 680. This, together with the western districts of the kingdom of Pontus (*μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου*) was organized as a province by Pompey, U.C. 692.

Σαρδῶ. Along with Sardinia went Corsica. These two islands had formed one province since their annexation in U.C. 517.

τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας. They were accounted of as "provinciae propriae Populi Romani", the others being "provinciae Caesaris". Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 427.

§ 5. *Ναρβωνήσιοι*, *Λουγδουνήσιοι* = *Narbonenses*, *Lugdunenses*. Comp. *πρὸς Φιλιππησίους* = *ad Philippenses*, *Κρήσκης* = *Crescens*,

Πούδης = Pudens, Κλήμης = Clemens, Ουάλης = Valens. The region of which Narbo Martius (founded U.C. 636) was the capital was known as "the Province" (Provincia—whence the mediaeval and modern name Provence). It was transferred to the Senate in U.C. 732 (see below). Mommsen (*Roman Provinces*, vol. I. pp. 84-85) connects with this transfer (or retrocession) the division of the "New Gaul" (the region conquered and annexed by Julius) into three provinces, each with an independent *legatus pro praetore*, viz. 1. Belgica, 2. Lugdunensis, 3. Aquitania. In U.C. 727 there were four Roman colonies in the Narbonese besides Narbo itself (Baeterrae, Arausio, Arelas, Forum Iulii) but in the rest of Gaul only one, Lugdunum, founded in U.C. 711 by Lepidus and L. Plancus (Dio 46. 50). The Romanizing of "Gallia Comata" was as yet only at its beginning.

§ 6. Κελτῶν τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς κ.τ.λ. Dio makes a sharp distinction between Γαλάται and Κελτοί. Compare 54. 11: Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς (U.C. 733) τὰ κατεπεύγοντα διώκησε, ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη· ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο, and 32: [Drusus] τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. The "Germanoi" in his view are emigrant "Keltai" and his Kelts are the Teutons of the prevailing ethnology. The inhabitants of Belgic Gaul seem to have had affinities and points of resemblance with the Teutonic nations on the east of the Rhine, and Dio has probably confused Gallia Celtica and Gallia Belgica. In U.C. 716 Agrippa invited the Ubii, who had been allies of the Roman Republic since 700, to cross the Rhine and settle upon its left bank. The Ubii, being hard pressed by the Sugambri and others who hated them for their friendship with Rome, were glad enough to accept the invitation. They received assignments of land extending along the river from its confluence with the Moselle to the vicinity of Neuss. The provinces of Upper and Lower Germany are already in existence in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 73, III. 41, I. 31.) but their distinct formation cannot safely be referred to a date earlier than that of the "Clades Variana" (A.D. 9.)

μετά. Comp. the use of μετά in Iliad A. 423: Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὀκεανὸν μετ' ἀμβύμονας Αἰθιοπίας χθιζὸς ἔβη.

§ 7. ἡ Συρία ἢ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία. In Dio's time (2nd-3rd century C.E.) there were separate provinces of Coele-Syria, Syro-Phoenicia, and Cilicia. Coele-Syria and Syro-Phoenicia had been separated by Septimius Severus, A.D. 195. Cilicia had become a separate province earlier in the century. The name Coele-Syria properly denotes the region between Libanus and Anti Libanus. In U.C. 727 the province of Syria included Coele-Syria

and Phoenicia, the territory between the Lebanons and the Euphrates, and Cilicia. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, II. 117-118 and I. 323, 324, 336.

Κιλικία. For the connection of Cilicia with Syria in the first century, see Tac. *Ann.* II. 78, 79, 80 and III. 12 (Piso's seizure of Celenderis represented as "armis repetita provincia", the "provincia" being Syria), Ep. Gal. I. 21: τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας. Cicero's province of Cilicia consisted of Cilicia itself, with Cyprus, Pamphylia, and part of Phrygia. Western Cilicia (i.e. Cilicia Aspera, highland Cilicia) was left under the government of native princes (Tac. *Ann.* II. 78, VI. 41, XII. 55), the Roman legate only making his appearance there when serious rebellion broke out. See Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 13 (2nd ed.).

Κύπρος.. Annexed U.C. 696, ceded by Antony to Cleopatra, U.C. 718.

ὑστερον, viz. U.C. 732. Dio 54. 4: τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὥς μηδὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν δεομένας, καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. The ἀνθύπατος of Cyprus is mentioned in Act. Apost. xviii. 12.

τὴν Δελματίαν, the Dalmatians being a decidedly warlike race. In U.C. 740 they rose in rebellion, and though cowed for the time being by the appearance of Agrippa on the scene, they broke out again after his death in U.C. 742. Tiberius was then engaged for three years in suppressing the rebellion and conquering the region between the Save and the Drave. Again, in A.D. 6 the Dalmatians rebelled, and were joined by the Pannonians. The suppression of this revolt was only achieved at the cost of three years' hard fighting, Tiberius again being the commander-in-chief of the Roman armies. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. pp. 21-24, 38-42. In the reign of Tiberius two legions were stationed in Dalmatia (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 5).

§ 8. καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, e.g. Achaia and Macedonia. See Tac. *Ann.* I. 76: Achaia ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levare in praesens proconsulari imperio, tradique Caesari, placuit. They were "restored to the Senate and People" in A.D. 44. See Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 428.

τό γε ἀρχαῖον. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 81: Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. On the other hand, Numidia was separated from Africa and became a "provincia Caesaris" in A.D. 37; see Mommsen, op. cit. II. p. 310. In the second century, Cilicia was separated from Syria, and then Syria itself was divided (v. s.).

§ 9. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν κ.τ.λ. The following provinces were added by conquest (προσεκτήθη) in the period between the first

constitution of the Principate and the time at which Dio wrote—
 1. *Alpes Maritimae*, 2. *Alpes Cottiae*, 3. *Alpes Graiae*, 4. *Raetia*,
 5. *Noricum* (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. 15-19), 6. *Pannonia*,
 7. *Moesia* (op. cit. I. 13-14, 22-24, 38-42), 8. *Britannia* (op. cit. I, ch. v.), 9. *Dacia* (I. 219-225), 10. *Arabia* (II. 152). *Moesia* was divided into Upper and Lower by Domitian (I. 227); the same thing done in *Pannonia* by Trajan (I. c.). Britain was divided into Upper and Lower (or First and Second) by Severus (I. 190). The first seven of these were, it will be noticed, added in the reign of Augustus. The following were client-kingdoms of self-governing states converted from time to time into provinces: 1. *Judaea* (beginning with the reduction of *Judaea* proper "in formam provinciae" A.D. 6), 2. *Galatia* (U.C. 729 = B.C. 25: below, c. 26), 3. *Pamphylia* (U.C. 729: I. c.), 4. *Cappadocia* (A.D. 17: Tac. *Ann.* II. 42 and 56), 5. *Commagene* (A.D. 17: I. c.), 6. *Lycia* (A.D. 43: Sueton. *Claudius* 25), 7. *Pontus* (A.D. 64: Mommsen, op. cit. II. 64), 8. *Thrace* (A.D. 46: op. cit. I. 211), 9. *Mauretania Caesariensis*, 10. *Mauretania Tingitana* (A.D. 42: Dio, 60. 9: Mommsen, II. 313-314). All provinces added after U.C. 727, whether by conquest or not, became "provinciae Caesaris".

αὐτόνομα. Besides the Lycian Confederation (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, I. p. 333: Tac. *Ann.* XIII., 33-4 with Furneaux' note), there was a large number of free cities in the Hellenic East, such as *Lacedaemon*, *Athens*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Cyzicus*, *Samos*, *Magnesia ad Sipylum*. Their status as "liberae civitates" was of course entirely dependent upon the good pleasure of the Roman Government: e.g. *Cyzicus* was deprived of its liberties in U.C. 734, for five years, as a punishment for the maltreatment and slaying of Roman citizens in a faction-fight, and once again it was disfranchised in A.D. 25 (Dio 54. 7 and 23, 57. 24 and Tac. *Ann.* IV. 36, Sueton. *Tiberius* c. 37). Augustus' policy made turbulence a reason for disfranchisement—"urbes quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit" (Sueton. *Aug.* 25)—and other Emperors followed suit, *Tiberius* in the case of *Cyzicus* (Tac. I. c.) and *Vespasian* in that of the free cities of *Achaia* and *Lycia*. *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Samos* were also disfranchised by *Vespasian*, and their citizens reduced to the ordinary status of provincials. (Sueton. *Vespasianus* 8).

c. 13. § I. μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν, "regno inhiare". ἐς δέκα ἔτη, i.e. to Dec. 31, U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.

καταστήσειν αὐτά, "establish order in them". Comp. κατάστασις in Dio 46. 55 (cited above, c. 12 § I note on δημοτικός).

προσεναντιόσατο. The reader may supply "non sine risu audientium."

§ 2. ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, "provinces of both classes" (viz. "armed" and "unarmed").

δι' ἃπερ εἶπον. See note on νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα, c. 12 § 2.

ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς: holding their office (of provincial governor) for a year and appointed to it by the drawing of lots (sortitio).

πολυπαίδας ἢ γάμον προνομία—Dio 54. 16 (U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.): [Augustus] τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἄθλα ἔθηκεν. See Bk. 56. 1-10 (A.D. 9); the equites having petitioned for repeal of the law περὶ τῶν μήτε γαμούντων μήτε τεκνούντων, Augustus assembled them in the Forum, and delivered an oration, praising those who had wives and children and rebuking those who were childless (these latter being the majority). The privileges of those who had children were increased, and those who were childless were allowed a year in which to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Certain wives obtained exemption from the Lex Voconia, which prohibited women from inheriting property above the value of 100,000 sesterces. καὶ τούτου δὲ τε Πάπιοι καὶ ὁ Ποππαῖος νόμος ὑπὸ τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μοντίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κύντου Ποππαίου Σεκούνδου, τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατευόντων, ἐτέθησαν (Dio seems to understand that two laws were passed, but apparently there was only one, the Lex Papia Poppaea, named after the two *consules suffecti* who promulgated it). καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναῖκας ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ νόμου κατεφωράθη. Augustus was anxious to preserve what was left of the old Roman stock, and restore it to its pristine numbers, lest its place should be taken by foreign and debased growths. See also Tac. *Ann.* III. 25: in A.D. 20 "relatum de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior Augustus, post Iulias rogationes [laws of U.C. 736-737, de adulteriis, de pudicitia, de maritandis ordinibus] incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat" and xv. 19; in A.D. 63 a S.C. was passed "ne simulata adoptio in ulla parte muneris publici iuaret, ac ne usurpandis quidem hereditatibus prodesset". Childless men had been adopting sons for the occasion, in order to qualify as candidates for urban magistracies and provincial governments, manumitting their "sons" when the adoption had served its purpose.

§ 3. τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γεροσύνης συλλόγου. "Senatores" was a title common to "consulares", "praetorii", tribunes, aediles, and quaestors.

μήτε ξίφος, i.e. not possessing "ius gladii", so far at any rate as soldiers were concerned. See § 6.

ἀνθίπατους = "proconsules". Cf Sueton. *Aug.* 47 cited on c. 12 § 1, and Act. Ap. xiii. 7, 12, xviii. 12.

δοκούντων ἐστρατηγηκέναι = στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἐχόντων, insignia praetoria habentium. Praetorian insignia were conferred upon Drusus in honour of his victory over the Alpine tribes in the Tridentine region, U.C. 739 (Dio 54. 22).

§ 4. ῥαβδούχοις = "lictoribus". Act. Ap. xvi. 35.

ὄσοις περ, sc. twelve.

ἐπίσημα = "insignia".

ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου = "extra pomerium". This concession could not be understood as the bestowal upon proconsuls of a right to actual exercise of proconsular *imperium* in Italy. At the same time, it served to make a distinction between the soil of Rome and that of Italy, although Italy up to the Rubicon had been Romanized for some sixty years. Rome had not sunk to the position of a *municipium*.

§ 5. αἰρεῖσθαι. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 53, "missu principis", in contradistinction from "sorte", which is appropriate to governors of "Senatorial" or "unarmed" provinces (cf. κληρωτοὺς above, § 2.)

πρεσβεντὰς αὐτοῦ (leg. αὐτοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου τε = "legatos Augusti pro praetoribus".

κάν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατ. "even if they are *consulares viri*, men who have held the consulship"—just as governors of "provinciae inermes" were (by inverse usage) styled "proconsuls" even when they had not attained to the consulship, but were really "praetorii" (§§ 3-4). Cf. the use of "procos." in Cic. *ad Fam.* v. 1 and 2.

τὰ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγού. "Praetor", cognate with "praeire", means "one who goes before", especially one who leads into battle. It was originally the title of the consuls, and may have been one of the regal titles, one of the most important functions of the king in primitive times being to "go before" his people and "fight their battles" (I. Samuel viii. 20). According to Livy III. 55 "praetor" was the title of the chief magistrate of the Roman People as late as U.C. 305 = 449 B.C. Στρατηγός is the regular rendering of "praetor" in the Greek histories of Rome. In point of etymology, ἡγεμῶν would serve as well, but the historians were aware that "praetor" originally meant one who led the army, and was ὄνομα τῷ πολέμῳ προσήκον. The name was appropriated in 366 B.C. to the magistrate then for the first time appointed as a colleague, though not on an equal footing, of the consuls, for "disceptatio et custodia iuris civilis". The patricians had been compelled to recognize the eligibility of plebeians to the chief magistracy. As a set-off against the accession of plebeians to the position of commanders-in-chief of Roman armies, the defeated party instituted a new magistracy,

which was to be "cum imperio", though subordinate to the consuls, to be open to patricians only, and to take over the judicial functions hitherto exercised by the "praetores maximi" or "consules". The holder of this new office was to be entitled "praetor", the office itself "praetura". Thus the victory of the plebeians was in part nullified. The "iuris disceptator" continued to be a patrician. But within the space of a generation the patricians had to fall back from this extemporized second line of defence for their "prae-potentia" (Livy VII. 1, VIII. 15; Cic. *de Legibus* III. 3. 8: iuris disceptator, qui privata iudicet iudicative iubeat, praetor esto. is iuris civilis custos esto. huic potestate pari, quotcumque Senatus creverit Populusve iusserit, tot sunt).

ειρηνωτέρους. Cf. ch. 12 § 2. The name "praetor", however warlike its original significance and associations, had become rather a civilian or peaceful title, though in the provinces the praetors or propraetors were military commanders, each one commander-in-chief within the limits of his province. (So too in Italy, upon occasion: e.g. Lucius Opimius, sent to put down the revolt of Fregellae in 125 B.C.; Q. Pompeius Rufus to Capua and Q. Metellus Celer into Picenum in 63 B.C. to raise troops in defence of the Republic against Catiline.) But, in itself, "consul" is more of a civilian title than "praetor". "Consul" means "colleague", and the fact especially connoted by it is the limitation of the power of each consul by that of his equal associate ("par maiore potestas plus valet"—Cic. *De Legibus* III. 4. 11). The regular Greek equivalent, ὑπατος, reflects "summum imperium", "summa potestas", "summus magistratus" (cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 8. 18: Caes. *B. G.* I. 16). It can hardly be said that in its origin the name "proconsul" was peaceful. See Livy VIII. 23 (Palaepolim obsidente Q. Publilio cos. II, U.C. 428): cum et comitiorum dies instaret et Publilium . . . avocari ab spe capiendae in dies urbis haud e re publica esset, actum cum tribunis est ad Populum ferrent ut, cum Publilius Philo consulatu abisset, pro consule rem gereret quoad debellatum cum Graecis esset, and Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 45 (p. 44). But, in the distribution of provinces between the Princeps and the Senate, those which were assigned to the former required the presence of armies ("provinciae armatae"), while those appertaining to the latter had no armies (or none of any size) stationed in them ("provinciae inermes").

§ 6. ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐαυτῷ δόξη. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* I. 80.

δικαιῶσαι, "to punish". Cf. Hdt I. 100: [Deiokes] εἴ τινα πυνθανοίτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίεν, Thucyd. III. 40 (Cleon loquitur): πειθόμενοι μὲν ἔμοι τά τε δίκαια ἐς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δέ

γνόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιώσεσθε. Authority to condemn to death, and have the sentence executed, held good (in the provinces) only over Romans in military service. See Abbott, *op. cit.* §§ 159, 441.

§ 7. ἐπιτρόπων = "procuratori". Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea under Tiberius, had "ius gladii" over Jews (Ev. Ιωανν. xviii. 30 xix. 11), but his successor Porcius Festus had to allow Paul, the Roman citizen, to appeal unto Caesar (Act Ap. xxv. 11-12).

§ 8. ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. Polybius uses ἐξαπέλεκτος, ἐξαπέλεκτος στρατηγός (or ἡγεμών) and ἐξαπέλεκτος ἀρχὴ for "praetor" and "praetura" (L.S. s.v.). The Republican praetor had six *fascies* and *secures*, and so had the Imperial "legatus Augusti, pro praetore" at first, as it appears, though in the third century the number is five, whence the legate was called "quinquefusalis" (see Hardy, *Studies in Roman History* i. 277).

c. 14. § 1. ἀμφοτέρωσθε, to both classes of provinces ("armatae" and "inermes").

οὕτω κ.τ.λ. = τοιοῦτος οὖν ἦν ὁ τότε ταχθεὶς (καταστάς) νόμος, καθ' ὃν ἐπέμποντο.

καὶ στρατηγούντες κ.τ.λ. Many were sent to provinces before the end of their consulate or praetorship in Rome.

νῦν. Dio's history was not completed earlier than A.D. 235.

§ 2. μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν. Augustus revived the Lex Pompeia de Iure Magistratum, passed B.C. 702. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 36: auctor . . . fuit ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur, and see note on c. 17 § 3 below.

§ 3. πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν. The "provinces of the Senate and People", mentioned in c. 12 § 4, are eleven in number. In addition to the two consuls, twelve praetors were elected every year.

προσέτεθησαν κ.τ.λ. This must be distinguished from the transference of provinces from the Caesarian to the Senatorian class (for which see c. 12 §§ 5, 7, 8 and notes). What Dio says here is that the appointment of governors of "provinces of the Senate and People" was put under the Emperor's control, when there were cases of maladministration in those provinces. The Princes exercised control of these appointments by having the requisite number of senators taken by lot from a list of names approved by him.

§ 4. οὓς ἂν ἐβλήσῃ. Substitution of ἐξ ὧν for οὓς would make the statement clearer.

αἵρετοὺς τε κ.τ.λ. The pronoun *τινὲς* must be understood to represent αὐτοκράτορες. For an instance of straight selection (*αἵρεσις*) by a Princeps, see Tac. *Ann.* iii. 32: de Africa decretum, ut Caesar legeret, cui mandanda foret, the Senate declining to make the choice, though called upon by Tiberius to do so.

πλείω ἐνιαυτοῦ. "Continuatio imperii" was frequent enough in the case of legates governing "provinciae Caesaris", especially under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* i. 80); it was the exception, rather than the rule, with the proconsuls of the "provinciae Senatus Populique Romani".

ἱππεῖσιν. Equestrians were occasionally appointed by the Emperors to the government of Senatorial provinces.

ἐπεμψαν, ἐπέτρεψαν, προσέταξαν. These aorists may be rendered in English by perfects.

§ 5. τοὺς ἀρχομένους, i.e. persons who were not *cives Romani*, but subjects and allies (*socii*).

ἐνομίσθη. Cf. the use of νομίζειν in ch. 12 § 4, ch. 13 § ch. 17 §§ 10-11, ch. 18 § 4, ch. 28 § 3.

οἱ ταμειόντες = "quaestores": cf. ch. 15 § 1, ch. 28. § 4.

οἱ παρεδρέοντες = "comites", or "assessores". τοῖς τὸ κύρος . . . ἔχουσιν, i.e. the regular governors.

ὥσπερ εἶπον, = "As I have called them"; referring to οὕτω, and οἱ παρεδρέοντες. Compare the use of εἶπα = ἐκάλεσα in modern Greek, e.g. τοῦ εἶπα χονδροκέφαλο = I called him a blockhead. With the use of the aorist as a perfect, see note on § 4 and ch. 15 § 1.

πρεσβευτάς = "legatos". Apparently, Dio thought that the title "legatus" and its Greek equivalent should be reserved for the governors of the great Caesarian provinces. Under the old Republic, provincial governors had their *legati* (e.g. Caesar in Gaul, Pompey in the wars with the pirates and Mithridates) and Blaesus, proconsul of Africa, had a *legatus* (Scipio) in the war with Tacfarinas (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74). These legates, however, were military commanders, and Dio is speaking here of civilian officials.

§ 7. ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, i.e. out of the class of "praetorii"—members of the Senate who had advanced as far as the praetorship in the "cursus honorum". ὑποδεεστέρων, i.e. senators who had not yet attained to the praetorship.

c. 15. § 1. πολιτικά στρατόπεδα = "legiones civium Romanorum", as distinguished from allied or auxiliary forces.

τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατ. There might, however, be ex-consuls among these governors (see c. 13. § 5) and in fact there always were.

ἤδη δέ, "and by this time", "and now-a-days" (i.e. in Dio's time).

τεταμεινκότων—ἀρξάντων. Note the co-ordination of the perfect and aorist participle. Cf. note on the aorists in c. 14 §§ 4 and 5, ch. 16 § 3.

§ 2. χιλιάρχους = "tribunos militum". Act. Ap. xxi. 31 etc. τοὺς βουλευέσοντας. Cf. Maecenas' advice to Augustus in

Bk 52, c. 25: ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἱππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελθὼν ἐλλόγιμος ὥστε καὶ βουλευσάι γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἢ ἡλικία ἐμποδίζετω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὦσι.

ἄνω τοῦ λόγου, Bk. 52, ch. 19-26 (Maecenas' counsel regarding the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders).

τείχη = "walled towns" (oppida). The citadel of Memphis is called τὸ Λευκὸν Τεῖχος by Thucydides (I. 109): cf. Ἀβώνον Τεῖχος, a town in Pontus, Δίδυμον Τεῖχος (Διδυμότειχος, later Διμότικο) in Thrace, Νέον Τεῖχος in Ionia. πολιτικά τείχη = walled towns inhabited by *cives Romani* (i.e. coloniae or municipia, e.g. Philippi, Corinth, Pisidian Antioch). ξενικά τείχη = walled towns inhabited by non-Romans (e.g. Iconium).

τότε κ.τ.λ., i.e. under the dictatorship, U.C. 705-710.

§ 3. ἐπιτρόπους = "procuratores".

πλὴν καθ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ., i.e. with the exception of supplies "requisitioned" by the proconsuls for their personal needs and those of their staff. These requisitions, even under the Empire, were not always light: Tac. *Ann.* I. 76.

§ 4. ἐντολὰς = "instructions".

ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, i.e. with a definite notion and understanding of the nature and extent of their powers. Comp. Thucyd. I. 13, ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι. The proconsuls of the "provinces of the Senate and People" were really *legati Caesaris* as much as the praetors sent to the Caesarian provinces.

μισθοροράν. Cf. Maecenas' advice, Bk. 52, c. 23: λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὗτοί οἱ τὰς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν οἱ μείζους ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδέεστεροι, μέσον δὲ οἱ μέσοι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἷόν τέ ἐστιν αὐτοῦς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζῆν, οὔτ' ἀορίστῳ καὶ ἀσταθμῆτι ἀναλώματι ὥσπερ νῦν χρῆσθαι. This with reference to provincial governors. Also Bk 52, c. 25, with reference to fiscal officers: τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω (= τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τοῦ ὑπάρχου, cum Populi Romani, tum sociorum et amicorum), καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς ἔξω πάσας οἱ ἱππεῖς διαχειρίζεσθωσαν. καὶ μισθὸν οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους (= qui eiusdem sunt census, sc. equestris) διοικούντες τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττωνα, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν αὐτοῦς, ἅτε καὶ πενεστέροις τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνατὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοῦς τῶν τε δυνάμεων (= exercituum) καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίου γίγνεσθαι.

§ 5. ἐργολαβοῦντες = "conducentes". Juvenal iii. 38: conducunt foricas.

φέροντα = προσήκοντα.

τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὄνομα, e.g. ducenarii (receiving 200 sesterces) Sueton. *Claudius* 24

§ 6. καταλόγους, "levies of troops", "delectus".

ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου. Cf. Ev. Luc. iii. 13 (John Baptist to the τελῶναι): μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε.

ἀνακομιδὴ = "reditus" cf. ch. 28 § 3.

c. 16. § 1. πάντων dependent upon αὐταρχήσιν (below).

λόγῳ μὲν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 2: At Romae principio anni [U.C. 785] atroces sententiae dicebantur . . . bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur: tamquam referret. Augustus had all the control over revenue and expenditure which had been granted to the triumvirate by the Lex Titia; see c. 5 § 4, note on ἐλευθερίαν. In c. 11 § 5 Dio describes the power which Augustus held before January 13, U.C. 727, as μοναρχία.

αὐταρχήσιν ἐμέλλε. For the use of μέλλειν, compare Apoc. Ioann. iii. 16: μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου, ii. 10: μέλλει βάλλειν ὁ διάβολος ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακὴν. (In employing the future infinitive of the complementary verb, Dio displays more grammatical correctness.) For Dio's representation of Augustus' conduct, cf. note on ἀλλ' ὄντως ἠθέλησα, c. 4 § 4.

§ 2. τῆς δεκαετίας ἐξεληούσης = "finito decennio". Refer to c. 13 § 1, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη. The δεκαετία ran out on Dec. 31, U.C. 736 = 18 B.C.

ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, sc. U.C. 737-741 = 17-13 B.C. (incl.). See Bk. 54, c. 12. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Αὐγούστου) προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς τὰ τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοὺς ἐδεῖτο, καὶ ἐδεῖδι μὴ, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῇ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁ δεκῆτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο), ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πη ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη . . .

εἰτα πέντε. Ibid; ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αἰθῖς γενέσθαι. This second quinquennium consisted of the years U.C. 742-746 = 12-8 B.C. See Bk. 54, c. 28: κὰν τοῦτω τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αἰθῖς ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμησείουσιν ἐξέπεμψε, μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέψας. (This was done U.C. 741 = 13 B.C. In the course of the following year, 12 B.C., Agrippa died.) The fact that Augustus made Agrippa his colleague, almost on a standing of equality, in the exercise of αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμονία

for ten years, should be taken into account in considering his attitude towards the old Republican constitution.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα. Bk. 55, c. 6 (U.C. 746): τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ περ ἀφίεις, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὖθις ὑπέστη. (Cf. c. 11 §§ 4-5, above: μέχρι οὐ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν αὐτάρχησαι οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.) This third decennium = U.C. 747-756 = B.C. 7-A.D. 3 (incl.).

καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα, viz. A.D. 4-13 (incl.) = U.C. 757-766. See Bk. 55, c. 11 (in Xiphilinus' epitome): πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπέδεξάτο. Dio says τὸ τέταρτον, though this was really the *fifth* time that Augustus ὑπέδεξάτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. But Dio is thinking of *decennia*, and the second and third assumptions of the Principate were for *quinquennia* only.

πεντάκις. This refers to *decennial* periods. The second decennium, however, was voted in two successive quinquennia. There were in all six assumptions of the Principate. For the last, see Bk. 56, c. 28: Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκῆτη τὴν πέμπτην ἄκων δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔλαβε. Notice that Dio is consistent throughout in representing Augustus' unwillingness to undertake the Principate as a studied affectation.

§ 3. καθάπαξ. See ch. 18 § 4, note on πᾶσαι ἅμα.

ἑώρτασαν = "have kept festival". Cf. τεταμιενκώτων coordinate with ἄρξαντων in c. 15 § 2.

§ 4. πολλά, sc. ἐπίσημα.

περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας = "de *dominatu eiurando*". Cf. ch. 3 § 3, ch. 9 § 6; and for μοναρχία ch. 11 § 5, ch. 9 § 4.

ἔθνων διανομῆς, ch. 12.

τὰς δάφνας. See Mon. Ancy. c. xxxiv: In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in Senatus Populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo Senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est.

τῶν βασιλείων. Augustus would hardly have called his house τὰ βασιλεία, i.e. "regia", or allowed others so to call it. It is Dio the provincial, rather than Dio the Senator, who gives this name to the residence of the Princeps. Yet the titles βασιλεὺς and βασιλεία, given by provincials to the Princeps and his residence, bore witness to the fact that Rome and her Empire had passed under the control of a monarch — ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη (ch. 17

§ 1). Cf. "domus regnatric" in Tac. *Ann.* i. 4. There is no connection with the "regia" which Augustus, as Pontifex Maximus, might have occupied after the death of Lepidus, and no doubt did make use of.

τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύινον. The "corona civica". See Mon. Ancyrr. l. c.; Ovid *Fasti* i. 614: protegat et notas querna corona fores, Virgil. *Aen.* vi. 772: qui umbratagerunt civili tempora quercu, Ovid. *Met.* i. 562-3 (Apollo's farewell to Daphne): Postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos ante fores stabis: mediamque tuebere quercum.

νικῶντι. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 26: nomen imperatorium adsequi et deportare lauream; Ovid. *Met.* i. 560: Tu ducibus Latiis aderis, quum laeta triumphum vox canit, et longas visent Capitolia pompas.

τοὺς πολίτας σώζονται. The *titulus* of a *corona civica* read "Ob cives servatos" or "civem servatum".

§ 5. οὐχ ὅτι ἔδοξε. There was no "dogma", either of the Senate (δόγμα συγκλήτου, Senatus consultum) or of the Emperor (edictum) ordering that the Sovereign's dwelling should be so named.

ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει. Sueton. *Aug.* 29: publica opera plurima exstruxit; ex quibus praecipua forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio . . . templum Apollinis ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronunciarant.

τὸ στρατήγιον = "praetorium" (στρατηγός = praetor; ch. 13 § 5). The residence of the provincial governor was called "praetorium", even in the case of a second-class province like Judaea, governed by a procurator (Ev. Matth. xxvii. 27, Marc. xvi. 16, Ioann. lxxviii. 28). Augustus, while residing within the *pomerium*, governed the provinces by exercise of *imperium proconsulare*. πραιτώριον in Ep. Philipp. i. 13 probably means the Emperor's residence, "the Palace" (Palatina Domus); cf. τὸ πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου in Act. Ap. xxiii. 35. (At the time of writing to the Philippians, Paul was under surveillance in "his own hired house" (Act. Ap. xxviii. 30), not in confinement in the camp or barracks of the Praetorian Guards.)

τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν. Livy. i. 7. 5: [Romulus] Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24 (description of the *pomerium* of Romulus, enclosing *Roma Quadrata* and the Palatine Mount).

φῆμην. The dwelling of Augustus annexed the name of the "mount" upon which it stood, so that this name "Palatium" came to be understood rather in the sense of the sovereign's residence

than in that of the eminence upon which primitive Rome had been founded and fortified. At the same time, the memory of the first occupation of the "mount" by Romulus was by no means lost. Standing as it did upon the Palatine Mount, Augustus' dwelling gained an added dignity from that memory.

§ 6. "Ubi Caesar, ibi Palatium". From this position it was not a far cry to "Ubi Caesar, ibi Roma" (Herodian I. 6. 5: ἐκεῖ ἡ Ῥώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ).

τὸ τοῦ Αἰγούστου ὄνομα. Mon Ancyr. c. xxxiv, quoted above, § 4 note on τὰς δάφνας; Sueton. *Aug.* 7: postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem Urbis, praevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur Augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens 'Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est'. The same etymology of 'Augustus' is given by Festus; see Shuckburgh's note on Suetonius, I. c..

§ 8. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα. Ovid. *Fasti* I. 609-616:

Sancta vocant *augusta* patres; *augusta* vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

Huius et *augurium* dependet origine verbi,*
et quodcunque sua Iuppiter *auget* ope.

Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,
protegat et notas querna corona fores:

Auspiciisque deis tanti cognominis heres
omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus.

Ovid connects the bestowal of the title "Augustus" with the Ides of January, *Fasti* I. 587-590:

Idibus in magni castus Iovis aede sacerdos
semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis:
redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
et tuus *Augusto* nomine dictus avus.

The true chronology appears to be as follows—

(a) Kal. Ian. U.C. DCCXXVII: Octavian "gives back the Empire to the Roman People" (Dio, 53, chs. 3-10).

(b) Id. Ian. eiusdem anni: Division of the provinces between Octavian and the Senate (Dio, 53, ch. 12).

(c) a.d. XVII. Kal. Febr. (=Jan. 16) Octavian receives the title of *Augustus*.

*Servius explains: "Augusta moenia" (Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 153) as "Augurio consecrata."

καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως. The second καὶ is superfluous. Its presence can only be accounted for on the supposition of clerical error of some sort infecting the texts of Dio. 'Ἑλληνίζοντες πως' = "as the nearest Greek equivalent".

σεβαστόν. Dindorf spells with a small initial: a capital is to be preferred. Cf. Act. Ap. xxv. 21: εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν, also xxvii. 1: ἑκατοντάρχη σπείρης Σεβαστῆς (=centurioni cohortis Augustae".)

C. 17. §1. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη. Cf. Dio, 52. 1: ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τε ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. Dio goes on to say that the form of government instituted U.C. 727 "would be most truly accounted of as monarchy, for all that two, or even three, persons have been occasionally associated in the supreme power." But was this consciously intended by Augustus? He had Agrippa associated with him in the "monarchy" for nearly six years (17-12 B.C.: see ch. 16 § 2, note on εἶτα πέντε). More than one explanation of this may be offered. Augustus desired to secure himself against Agrippa's ambition. Or, expecting that Agrippa would survive him, he desired to "provide for the succession". But Agrippa appears not to have been ambitious (Bk. 54. ch. 11: ἐμετρίαζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει) and Augustus may not have begun to think of "succession" even in his second decennium of προστασία. It is, to say the least of it, just as likely that Augustus sought to maintain, as far as was possible, the old Republican constitution in being by the application of the "collegiate principle" to the Principate or Protectorate. In his later years we find him taking Tiberius as his associate (Tac. Ann. 1. 3: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis) but by that time he might have realized that the Principate must be continued, and that it would be his wisdom to indicate a successor.

ἔσχον, "have had".

καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς. Instances of two: Augustus and Tiberius, Vespasian and Titus, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Instance of three: Septimius Severus and his two sons. Dio had personal experience of the last-mentioned reign. The main point of his observation, however, is the despotism exercised by the triumvirate.

§ 2. τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μοναρχικόν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 9: it was said in praise of Augustus "non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed Principis nomine constitutam rem publicam." Id. Ann.

III. 56 (concerning "potestas tribunicia"): Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret. The title of "rex" was objectionable, not only on account of the Tarquinian legend, but because the "exterae gentes" subdued and made tributary by Rome, or lying beyond the pale of the Roman "orbis terrarum", were under the government of "reges". The name of dictator had been made odious by the excesses of Sulla. Caesar's dictatorship had not been cruel, but his tragic fate had been enough, quite apart from memories of the Sullan Terror, to make the names "dictator" and "dictatura" names of evil omen.

τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους κ.τ.λ. = "sed cum penes illos sit summa res". The Greeks and Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Empire bore witness to the true tendency of the Principate in speaking of the Princes as βασιλεῖς.

§ 3. αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων κ.τ.λ. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6: sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species: minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; but immediately before this comes the statement that the Princes "mandabat honores". See also *Ann.* i. 81 (*comitia consularia* under Tiberius and succeeding *Principes*). Suetonius (*Aug.* 40) asserts that Augustus "comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit", but Tacitus records the transference, in the first year of Tiberius' reign, of the elections "e Campo ad Patres" (*Ann.* i. 15). Augustus set the precedent of nominating twelve candidates for the praetorship (*Ann.* i. 14). Dio represents the policy of the Principate with respect to the old Republican magistracies as originating in the counsel given by Maecenas to Octavian in the course of the year 29 B.C. See Bk. 52, ch. 20: καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἱππάδα (in ordinem equestrem) ὀκτωκαιδεκάτεϊς . . . ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον (in Senatum) πεντεκαιεκοσιέτεϊς . . . ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγείτωσαν (quaestura et aedilitate vel tribunatu functi praetores creantur) τριακοντούτοι γενόμενοι. ταύτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἴκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σε φημι χρῆναι. αὐτὸς μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰροῦ . . . τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ' ἰσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ ἀξιωματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσαι τι ἐβέλησονσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει.

πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν. Censorial functions were performed by the Emperors, but there was no election of censors after U.C. 732 = 22 B.C. In that year Augustus refused the offer of the censorship for life, and caused Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus to be elected censors. This, says Dio (Bk. 54, ch. 2) was the last occasion on which the censorship was held by colleagues of private station—ἔσχατοι οὗτοι τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδιῶται

ἄμα ἔσχον. But while he caused Lepidus and Plancus to be elected censors, he reserved the actual exercise of censorial functions mainly to himself—καίπερ ἐκείνων αἰρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε. In U.C. 726=28 B.C., Octavian and Agrippa, consuls of that year, held the census in exercise of *censoria potestas* (see ch. I § 3, note on τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξέτελεσε), this power being originally inherent in the consulship. The perpetual censorship was refused by Augustus in 22 B.C. as “contra morem et instituta maiorum” (Mon. Ancyr. c. VI: see further on § 7 below). In U.C. 746=8 B.C. and again in U.C. 767=A.D. 14 Augustus held the census “consulari cum imperio”; on the former occasion alone, on the latter with Tiberius as his colleague. In both cases the consular *imperium* was exercised for the special purpose of the census, without displacing the ordinary consuls of either year. See Mon. Ancyr. c. VIII: in consulatu sexto (28 B.C.) censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi . . . iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci, C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos . . . tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci, Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. This application of the consular *imperium* was a return to the practice of the old Republic as it had been previous to the first election of censors in U.C. 319=435 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Suet. Aug. 27. In Bk. 55, ch. 13, Dio makes mention of a partial census held by Augustus in A.D. 4. It was confined to Italy, and even within Italy to persons possessed of property to the amount of not less than 50,000 denarii. For the purpose of holding this census, Augustus, says Dio, assumed *proconsular imperium*—ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο—in order not to appear as though he were acting ὡς τιμητής. It was hardly necessary that Augustus in A.D. 4 should assume proconsular authority; he held it already (see ch. 32 § 5). Besides, there was no scope in Italy for proconsular imperium. Augustus held *consular imperium* (granted for life: Dio 54, 10); even if he did not, he could have caused the consuls of the year to take the census proceedings in hand. Dio 54. 10 and 30, asserts that twice over Augustus was made ἐπιμελητής τρόπων (praefectus morum) for a period of five years. The quinquennia were (1) U.C. 735-739=19-15 B.C., and (2) U.C. 742-746=12-8 B.C. See § 7. In A.D. 47 Claudius Caesar and Lucius Vitellius, consuls of the year, were also censors (Sueton. *Claudius* 16; Dio 54. 29) and performed the ceremonies of the *lustratio*. Domitian τὴν τιμητείαν ἔλαβε διὰ βίου. The title of *censor* was revived for the last time in the appointment of Valerian by Decius, A.D. 251 (see Gibbon, ch. x.).

§ 4. ὕπατοι, “They are very often created consuls”. After the “settlement” of U.C. 727, Augustus was consul year by year from

U.C. 728 to 731 and again in U.C. 749 and 752; on the last two occasions for a short time only, to introduce Gaius and Lucius Caesar to public life (Sueton. *Aug.* 26). In U.C. 735=19 B.C., according to Dio (Bk. 54, ch. 10) Augustus τὴν τῶν ἀπάτων [ἐξουσίαν] διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, was invested with consular power and authority for life. Taking this statement as true, we may account for this investiture with consular authority for life on the supposition that Augustus' friends regarded the position he had held since June, U.C. 731=23 B.C., when he abdicated the *consulate* (his eleventh) but retained *proconsular* imperium, even within the pomerium (ch. 32 § 5) as irregular and of doubtful validity, and sought to establish his power on a basis which squared better with constitutional precedent.

ἀνθύπατοι, "without the pomerium, they are always styled pro-consuls." Was this the style of the Princeps when travelling, or residing *extra pomerium*, if he was also one of the consuls of the year? Was it indeed at any time a common manner of speaking or writing of the Princeps in Italy or the provinces? Accepting as true the statement quoted in the last note from Dio 54. 10, we have to determine whether the "maius imperium" which the Princeps possessed in relation to the provincial governors (Senatorial and Caesarian alike) was consular or proconsular. In theory, the consuls had always been superior to the proconsuls—they were οἱ ὑπατοι, the highest-placed men in the State. In practice, this superiority of the consuls over the proconsuls had not amounted to very much. From 700 to 705 U.C.=54-49 B.C., Pompey, residing in Rome, but *extra pomerium*, was proconsul of the two Spains, which he governed by the agency of "legati". The consuls of those years exercised no control over his government of the Spains. In 702 U.C.=52 B.C., Pompey was not only proconsul of the Spains, but also consul, and for part of the year, sole consul. This consulate of 52 B.C. was procured, or assumed, in order to give him a proper *locus standi* for the suppression of faction-fighting in Rome. The consulate which Augustus had abdicated in 23 B.C. was his eleventh. No Roman had ever been created consul so frequently, and with so much disregard for *leges annales*. In order to save appearances, then, Augustus resigned the consulate, but in order to save his control of provinces, legions, auxiliaries, and fleets, he retained proconsular authority with provision for the exercise thereof within as well as without the *pomerium*. This produced an anomaly. The consuls were now subordinate, or at best not more than equal to, a proconsul. The anomaly, however, was rectified—unless Dio is in error—by the investiture of the Princeps with consular authority. He was

not made perpetual consul, for it was desirable that the inauguration of two consuls on the Kalends of January in every year should be kept up. But he had the consular dignity and character, and his authority over the proconsuls governing the "provinces of the People" was much less open to doubt or question.

τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν = "praenomen Imperatoris." In Bk. 52. c. 43 Dio says that Octavian, in the year of his fifth consulate (29 B.C.) assumed "τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπὶ κλησιν. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον δίδομένην τισίν, ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐγγόνοις ἐψήφιστο" (sc. U.C. 708 = 46 B.C.). See the quotation from Dio 43. 44 in the notes on ch. 18 § 2 below.

ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. Tac. *Ann.* i. 9: non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed Principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; iii. 56 (tribunicia potestas): id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret. Compare notes on § 2 and c. 18 § 2.

§ 5. αὐτὰς ἐκέλευς (sc. τὰς προσρήσεις), the titles of *rex* and *dictator*, these having become obsolete.

βεβαιῶνται = "secure for themselves".

§ 6. ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμ. "By a dangerous exception to the ancient maxims, he was authorized to preserve his military command, supported by a numerous body of guards, even in time of peace and in the heart of the capital. His command indeed was confined to those citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oath: but such was the propensity of the Romans to servitude that the oath was voluntarily taken by magistrates, the senators, and the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was insensibly converted into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity."—Gibbon, ch. iii: cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 7 and xvi. 22.

τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε = "iis, qui unquam imperium adepti sunt."

§ 7. ἐκ . . . τοῦ τιμητείου. Cf. § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν and ch. i § 3 τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε. Augustus undoubtedly ἐξήταξε τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πολιτῶν. Dio (54. 10 and 30) speaks of his having been elected ἐπιμελητῆς τρόπων for five years in U.C. 735 and again in U.C. 742. On the former occasion (U.C. 735) he also assumed *ensoria potestas* for five years (Dio, 54. 10: ἐπιμελητῆς τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, 30: ἐπιμελητῆς τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἕτερα ἔτη πέντε αἰρεθείς, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίαν, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὴν μοναρ-

χίαν, ἐλάμβανε . . .). Augustus' own account of his supervision of manners and morals, as given in the Mon. Ancyr. c. vi is as follows: ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐνικίῳ καὶ Κύντῳ Λουκρητίῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοις καὶ τρίτον Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κύντῳ Τουβέρωνι τῆς τε συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογούντων ἵνα ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ μόνος χειροτονηθῶι, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην· ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἢ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα. The consulates mentioned in this passage fell in the years U.C. 735, 736, and 743=19, 18 and 11 B.C. In connection with the *lustra* (Mon. Ancyr. c. viii), Augustus says nothing about *ensoria potestas*, but mentions *consulare imperium* only. According to Dio, therefore, Augustus was twice elected ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων for five years, and once assumed *ensoria potestas* for the same period. Augustus himself states that on three occasions the Senate and People expressed their desire to elect him ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων, that he refused the offer as being παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ (*contra instituta maiorum*), and that the measures requested by the Senate in the interest of morality were taken by him in exercise of his *tribunicia potestas*. Suetonius (*Aug.* c. 27.) asserts that Augustus "*recepit morum legumque regimen perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censorae honore, censum tamen populi ter egit.*" Augustus himself (Mon. Ancyr. c. viii.) mentions three *lustra*: (1) "In consulatu sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragesimum feci"; (2) "Iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos."; (3) "Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci". Note that *ensoria potestas* is not mentioned in connection with any one of the *lustra*, but *consulare imperium* is expressly mentioned in connection with the second and third only. Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c. cites C. I. L. 9. 422: "Imp. Caesare vi. M. Agrippa ii. cos: idem *ensoria potest. lustrum fecerunt*". The first of these *lustra* was held U.C. 726=28 B.C.: the second U.C. 746=8 B.C.: the third U.C. 767=A.D. 14. Neither in U.C. 746 nor in U.C. 767 was Augustus consul, but he possessed *consulare imperium*—assumed for life U.C. 735, if we may accept the statement quoted above from Dio, Bk. 54. c. 10. In all three cases, Augustus was reverting to the practice of the old Republic, as it had been before the institution of the censorship as a distinct magistracy in U.C. 319. In what way was the offer spoken of by Augustus in Mon. Ancyr. c. vi παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ? Dio, 54. 2, says that in U.C. 732=22 B.C. the Senate and People offered to elect Augustus censor for life (τιμητὴν διὰ βίου χειροτονῆσαι). A life-censorship was of course entirely

without precedent. In c. 10 of that book, however, the offer made in U.C. 735 (one of the three occasions mentioned by Augustus) is an offer to elect him ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων for five years (note the words παρακληθεῖς δὴ) which was not exactly παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη, as censors (who certainly "looked after" morals) were elected every five years. Possibly Dio is at fault in so wording his statement as to give the impression that a *praefectura morum* or *morum legumque regimen* was (in U.C. 735) offered for five years, instead of saying that it was offered for life, but declined by the Emperor, who contented himself with five years' exercise of such a *regimen*, with *censoria potestas*. In order to put the whole proceeding on an irreproachable basis, Augustus further assumed *consulare imperium* for life, or rather resumed it after an interval of about four years (U.C. 731-5: cf. ch. 32 § 3). In U.C. 732, however, he had exercised censorial functions even without *consulare imperium*. After refusing, in that year, the offer of a life-censorship, he caused two censors to be elected—Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus. These, observes Dio (54. 2), were the last Romans, not members of the imperial family, to be elected censors. (Dio forgets Vitellius, censor along with Claudius A.D. 47: see Tac. *Ann.* xi. 48, xii. 4.) But on the very day on which they entered upon their duties, their tribunal collapsed, and they abdicated. Augustus himself then πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἐπραξε, but probably in retrospect blamed himself for taking this course. In U.C. 735, therefore, he decided to place himself beyond the reach of criticism by procuring investiture with *consulare imperium* for life. (This involves the supposition of some mistake in the statement made by Dio, in 55, 13, that towards the end of a census of inhabitants of Italy possessing estates of not less than 50,000 denarii Augustus assumed ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν for the ceremony of τὸ καθάρσιον, the *lustrum*.) Suetonius' statement probably arose out of a misunderstanding of the record in the "Res Gestae". Yet in one sense Augustus did undertake a perpetual "regimen morum". Throughout his Principate he sought the revival of old Roman "instituta". He desired to restore Roman morals as well as Roman temples. See Mon. Ancyrc. c. VIII; after recording three *lectiones Senatus* and three *lustra*, Augustus proceeds: "legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro usu reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi". Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 32: "pleraque pessimi exempli correxit . . . grassatores inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia (praeter antiqua et legitima) dissolvit", 34: "leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus"

35: "senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba . . . ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit", 38: "equitum turmas frequenter recognovit post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis", 45: "histrionum licentiam compescuit", 64: "filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret", 76: "cibi . . . minimi erat atque vulgaris fere", 31: "nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimonis paulatim abolita restituit", and for the restoration of temples ch. 2. § 4 above. See Tac. *Ann.* III. 25 and Furneaux' *Excursus* on the Lex Papia Poppaea in his edition of the *Annals*, vol. I. pp. 483-486. Persons of equestrian rank forbidden to dance in public, Dio 54. 2; a law providing for more regular meetings of the Senate and larger attendance of Senators, 55. 3; a law regulating manumissions, 55. 14; bribery punished with five years' suspension of *ius honorum*, 54. 16; lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus, 54. 16. Tiberius, according to Suetonius, "ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit, mercedibus scenicorum recisis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis" (Augustus had forbidden the appearance of more than sixty pairs of gladiators at a time: see Dio 54. 2). Tiberius also "quotidiana oscula prohibuit edicto; item strenarum commercium, ne ultra Kalendas Ianuarias exerceretur" (Sueton. I. c.). The corrective measures ordered by S. C., according to Tacitus, *Ann.* II. 85, are attributed directly to Tiberius by Suetonius. With the expulsion of Jews and Egyptians by Tiberius in A.D. 19 compare the expulsion of Jews by Claudius in A.D. 52 (Sueton. *Claud.* 25: Act. Ap. xviii. 1). In A.D. 47 Claudius, taking L. Vitellius as his colleague, assumed the censorship (Tac. *Ann.* XI. 13, XII. 4: Sueton. *Claud.* 16). The expulsion of the Jews, coming within the period of five years for which censors were elected, may be regarded as a particular *munus censorium*. Vespasian and Titus were also censors (Sueton. *Vesp.* 8, *Titus* 6). Domitian assumed a life-censorship. In the case of Claudius and Vespasian, the motive was probably respect for "instituta maiorum". The definite assumption of *censura* was hardly necessary for one who held perpetual *consulare imperium*. Domitian was perhaps actuated by desire to increase the dignity and grandeur of his position. It may be noted in this connection that he accepted the title of *Dominus* and usurped that of *Deus* (Sueton. *Dom.* 13). The revival of the censorship by Decius in the appointment of Valerian (A.D. 251) was part of a design to restore the faded purity of manners and morals in the Roman State (Gibbon, chs. x and xvi: vol. I, pp. 247-8, and II. p. 113, in Bury's edition). Valerian was the last of the censors—and the most unfortunate. His elevation to the censorship is described in detail by Trebellius Pollio in the *Augustan Histories* xxii. 5 and 6

(*Valeriani Duo*). On the 27th October, U.C. 1004 = A.D. 251, the Senate was convened in the temple of Castor and Pollux, to hear and consider a message from the Emperor concerning the appointment of a censor. When the urban praetor (presiding in the absence of the consuls who in that year were the Emperor Decius and his son) requested the "Princeps Senatus" to express his opinion upon the matter before the house, the whole Senate cried aloud "Valeriani vita censura est!" A *senatus consultum* was then passed unanimously, commending P. Licinius Valerianus for the office of censor. The actual "creation" took place in Decius' camp, where Valerian was present "in procinctu" as an imperial *legatus*. "Suscipe censuram" said the Emperor to Valerian, "quam tibi detulit Romana Res Publica, quam solus mereris, iudicaturus de moribus omnium, iudicaturus de moribus nostris. Tu aestimabis qui in Curia manere debeant, tu equestrem ordinem in antiquum statum rediges . . . tu vectigalia firmabis . . . tibi legum scribendarum auctoritas dabitur." The *praefectus Urbis*, however, would be exempt from the censor's jurisdiction; so too would be the consuls of the year ("consules ordinarii"), the *rex sacrorum*, and the chief of the Vestals ("Maxima Vestalium"). Valerian endeavoured to have himself excused. "Haec sunt", he protested to Decius, "propter quae Augustum nomen tenetis; *apud vos censura desedit, non potest haec implere privatus*". Within two years, however, he himself had entered the succession of those "apud quos censura desederat" (U.C. 1006 = A.D. 253).

καταλέγουσιν = "adlegunt".

ἀπαλείφουσιν = "movent". ἀπαλείφειν properly = "to smear off, wipe off". It is most fittingly applicable to the action of wiping off figures or writing done in chalk, or in ink which contains no mordant—such ink as Jewish scribes use in copying out the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Compare the LXX version of Exodus xxxii. 32-33: εἰ μὲν ἀφείς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἧς ἔγραψας. καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς Μωσῆν, Εἴ τις ἡμάρτηκεν, ἐξαλείψω αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς βίβλου μου, and Ps. l. (li.) 3: ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἄνόμημά μου. The use of "movere" is exemplified in Cicero *Pro Cluentio* 43. 122: ipsi inter se censores sua iudicia tanti esse arbitrantur, ut . . . alter de Senatu moveri velit, alter retineat et ordine amplissimo dignum existimet. "Nota" and "notare" were also used in this connection, e.g. Livy xxxix. 42: Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius . . . Senatum legerunt: septem moverunt Senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flamininum consularem. Patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut censores motis Senatu adscriberent notas (= "stated their reasons in writing"), and Cic. *Pro Clu.* 42.

120: quos autem duo censores furti et captarum pecuniarum notaverunt, ii non modo in Senatum redierunt, sed etiam iudiciis absoluti sunt. In the case of removal of persons from the Equites, "equum adimere" was the technical phrase (Livy l. c. and 44: in equitatu recognoscendo L. Scipioni Asiageni ademptus equus) when they were "equites equo publico", i.e. not only possessed the equestrian "census", but also served in the cavalry. For instances of this censorial control of membership of the Senate and the Equites (ἡ ἱππάς, οἱ ἱππεῖς) by the Emperors, see Mon. Ancy. viii: "Senatum ter legi"; Sueton. *Aug.* 35 (cited in the preceding note); Dio 55. 3: τὰ ὄνματα συμπτάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεῦκωμα ἀναγράψας ἐξέθηκε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ' ἔτος οὕτω ποιεῖται, 13: διαλέξει τὴν γερονσίαν αἰθὺς ἡθέλησε (U.C. 757 = A.D. 4) καὶ δέκα βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος εἴλετο, Sueton. *Aug.* 37: nova officia excogitavit . . . triumviratum legendi Senatus, et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset; 38: equitum turmas frequenter recognovit etc. (cited in the preceding note); Dio 55. 31 (A.D. 7): τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνομένην (the "travectio") ἀνελάβετο; Sueton. l. c.: mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent: impetratisque a Senatu decem adiutoribus, unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione; Id. *Tiberius* 35: senatori latum clavum ademit, cum cognosset sub Kal. Iul. demigrasse in hortos, quo vilis post diem aedes in Urbe conduceret; Id. *Claud.* 16 (Claudius in the year of his censorship removed a large number of Senators, because they had travelled outside Italy without his permission, cf. ch. 12 § 2 above, note on νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα); Tacitus *Ann.* III. 55 (after the tumults of A.D. 69 there were frequent admissions of "novi homines" from the cities of Italy, and even from the provinces, cf. Sueton. *Vespasian* 9: "amplissimos ordines, et exhaustos caede varia et contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit supplevitque, *recenso Senatu et equite*; summotis indignissimis honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium adlecto"); Aelius Spartianus *Hadrian* 8. 7: Senatus fastigium extulit difficile faciens senatores; Iulius Capitolinus *Pertinax* 7. 9 (Pertinax put up to auction the slaves of Commodus' household; some of them were brought into his own, and subsequently "per alios principes usque ad senatoriam dignitatem pervenerunt"); Aelius Lampridius *Alexander Severus* 15. 1 (at the very beginning of his principate Alexander Severus "Senatum et equestrem ordinem purgavit").

§ 8. ἱερωσύνης = "sacerdotiis". Cf. Mon. Ancy. c. vii, August-

tus' list of his sacerdotal titles—Pontifex Maximus, Augur, Quindecimvir sacris faciundis, Septemvir Epulo, Frater Arvalis, Sodalis Titius, Fetalis.

ἀρχιερέων = ἀρχιερεῖα, "Pontificem Maximum". ἀρχιερεὺς is the Greek equivalent of "Pontifex Maximus" in Mon. Ancy. l. c.

ὅσων καὶ ἱερῶν, "omnis divini humanique iuris". Compare the Lex de Imperio Vespasiani (A.D. 69): utique quaecunque ex usu rei publicae maiestate [que] divinarum humanarum publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit, ei agere facere ius potestasque sit, ita uti Divo Augusto Tiberioque Iulio Caesari Aug. Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico fuit (Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions* pp. 407-8 and 345).

§ 9. ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχική = "tribunicia potestas, quae dicitur". This was conferred upon Caesar for life in U.C. 706 (after Pharsalus). In U.C. 718 = 36 B.C. it was conferred upon Octavian. Caesar and Octavian, being patricians (the latter by adoption), were ineligible to the tribunate of the plebs. But a tribunician character could be conceded to them, and this was preferable to the tribunate, which could hardly be held for more than a year (the instance of C. Gracchus being an exception proving the rule), while "tribunicia potestas" might be held for an indefinite time. Octavian's tenure of this power was renewed in U.C. 724 = 30 B.C., this renewal being one of the honours bestowed upon him as victor at Actium. Dio 51. 19: καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα [ἐψηφίσαντο] τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν. Apparently, the tribunician power was not conferred in U.C. 718 for a definite period. In U.C. 724 it was conferred for life, but even so Octavian's *ius auxilii* held good only μέχρι ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου. That of the tribunes of the plebs held good only as far as the first milestone outside the city. The phrase μέχρι ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου cannot be taken in the sense of "as far as the eighth half-stadium", for that would give a radius of no more than four stadia, or half a (Roman) mile. This would restrict Octavian's "tribunicia potestas" even more closely than that of the tribunes of the plebs. Possibly the words denote a radius of seven full miles and an eighth space extending a sixteenth of a mile (200 feet, 2 πλέθρα) further. Once again Octavian's tenure of "tribunicia potestas" was renewed, viz. in U.C. 731 = 23 B.C. (see ch. 32 § 5, below), though a life-tenure had been conferred in U.C. 724. The practice of numbering the years of "tribunicia potestas" was instituted after this second renewal. See the following §, and Tacitus *Ann.* i. 9: continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas (U.C. 731-767). From time to time, Augustus procured the appointment of a colleague in the exercise of "tribunicia potestas"; Agrippa in U.C.

736=18 B.C. for five years, and again in U.C. 741=13 B.C. for another five years; Tiberius in U.C. 748=6 B.C. for five years, and again in A.D. 4, this time for ten years, and once again at the end of the *decennium*, which terminated A.D. 13. In A.D. 14 Augustus died (Aug. 19) and Tiberius continued in possession of this power for life. See Dio 54. 12 and 28, 55. 9 and 13, 56. 28 Tacitus *Ann.* i. 3, III. 56; Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 27.

οἱ πάνυ ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες, such as C. Sextius and Licinius Stolo, or the Gracchi.

παύειν. The development of the original *ius auxilii* defined as *ius intercedendi*, and commonly described as "the tribunes' veto". Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 198-199.

μὴ καθυβρίσθαι. See Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 334 (explanation of sacro-sanctity as a form of taboo).

ἄκριτον="without process of law". Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 196 (§ 218).

ἐναγῆ="sacrum"; cf. οὐχ ὅσιον in the next §.

§ 10. τοὺς εὐπατριδας. Livy II. 33: neve cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. The patrician status of the Emperors, down to Nero, was unquestionable. But after the extinction of the Julio-Claudian line, it needed a "legal fiction" to make out any and every Emperor to be a patrician. What claim to the patriciate could be made by a Vespasian, a Septimius Severus, a Maximin, an Aurelian? But as the Emperors could make patricians, it had to be supposed in advance that they themselves were patricians.

ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος κ.τ.λ., i.e. with a view to putting somewhat of a democratic colour upon the Principate, by bringing the Princes' tenure of "tribunicia potestas" apparently into agreement with the annual limit of the old tribunate.

§ 11. ἐνομίσθη, "were instituted".

ὅπως μὴδὲν κ.τ.λ., i.e. to avoid the appearance of governing without the consent of the governed. Cf. Tacitus *Hist.* i. 47: vocat Senatum praetor urbanus . . . adcurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores, and iv. 3: at Romae Senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, and 6: eo die, quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos; also Iulius Capitolinus *Marcus Aurelius* 6. 6: post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari (this was while M. Aurelius' predecessor, T. Aurelius Antoninus, was yet alive), and Aelius Lampridius *Alexander Severus* i. 3: Alexander Severus assumed, "deferente Senatu", the titles of *Augustus*, and *Pater Patriae*, *ius proconsulare*, *tribunicia*

potestas, and *ius quintae relationis*, all on one and the same day, "novo exemplo" (8. 1.), which the historian explains by the necessity of preventing any rival from starting up. But the "exemplum" does not seem to be "novum", in view of Tacitus, *Hist.* II. cc. and the extant fragments of the *SC de imperio Vespasiani*. The *δδosis* of which Dio speaks was, after the reign of Augustus (who still kept the comitia in existence), the act of the Senate, and stood in the passing of a S.C. which took the place of the ancient *lex curiata*. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. 31. § 7.

c. 18. § 1. λέλυνται . . . λέγει. The "very words in Latin" are "legibus soluti". See ch. 28 § 2. This exemption, says Dio, was granted to Augustus at the beginning of his tenth consulship, A.U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. Merivale, *op. cit.*, ch. 31 § 7, maintains that the Emperor was not exempt from all laws indiscriminately, but only from *certain* laws and precedents, with which the accumulation of powers exercised by him came into conflict. This freedom is stated, though not defined in detail, in the "Lex de imperio Vespasiani", the text of which is given in Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408. The statement is worded as follows: utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit, ne divus Aug. Tiberiusve Iulius Caesar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis Imp. Caesar Vespasianus solutus sit; quaeque ex quaque lege rogatione divum Aug. Tiberiumve Iulium Caesarem Aug. Tiberiumve Claudium Caesarem Aug. Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Caesari Vespasiano Aug. facere liceat. Dio's statements here and in ch. 28 § 2 are probably influenced by his own experience of "iura, quis pace et principe uteremur". Along with the development of the autocratic tendencies of the Principate there grew up the jurists' doctrine that the Emperor's will was law, though indeed that was because the Roman People chose to have it so. Ulpian, one of the most notable exponents of this doctrine, was a contemporary of Dio. "Quod principi placuit" he wrote, "legis habet vigorem, utpote cum lege regia, quae de imperio eius lata est, Populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat". See A. J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, pp. 64-65. The "lex regia" being (at any rate after Augustus' day) a "Senatus consultum", it could only be represented by a fiction as an act of the "Populus Romanus Quiritium".

ἀναγκάλας νομίσεως. The word νόμισις is found in Thucyd. v. 105: τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως (the only instance given by L. & S.). πᾶσα ἀναγκάλα νόμισις stands in contrast with τὰ γεγραμμένα as unwritten (yet none the less binding) tradition in contrast with written statutes and judgments.

§ 2. τοῦ φορτικοῦ. τὸ φορτικὸν τῆς προσηγορίας = invidia nominis. Cf. Cic. *Off.* III. 21. 83 (referring to Caesar): Ecce tibi, qui rex Populi Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concupiverit idque perfecerit! Hanc cupiditatem si honestam quis esse dicit, amens est. Probat enim legum et libertatis interitum, earumque oppressionem taetram et detestabilem gloriosam putat. In the *De Republica* II. 26. 48-50, Cicero allows that government by a king (rex) is "sane bonum reipublicae genus" but withal "inclinatum et quasi primum ad perniciosissimum statum". The rex is liable to become a *tyrannus*, "quo neque taetrius, neque foedius, nec diis hominibusque invidius animal ullum cogitari potest". See also 30. 53: expulso Tarquinio tantum odium Populum Romanum regalis nominis tenuit, quantum tenuerat post obitum vel excessum Romuli desiderium. (There was an ugly tale, however, which obstinately refused to be smothered, about the death of Romulus, suggesting that the chief men of the Populus Romanus felt no *desiderium* for their king. "Fuisse credo" wrote Livy (I. 16) "tum quoque aliquos, qui discriptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura, fama". Cf. Plutarch's *Romulus*.) Cicero (*de Rep.* II. 25. 47) accounts for the "invidia" attaching to the *nomen regale* by the "superbia" (ὑβρις) of the second Tarquin. Illustrations of this "invidia": Cic. *Leg. Agr.* II. 6. 14: the Ten Land-Commissioners proposed in the agrarian law of Rullus were "decem reges aerarii": Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus are "reges"; *ad Quint. Fratr.* I. 2. 16: si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant, aut languidiores, nunc horum odio se cum bonis coniungunt (written U.C. 695 = 59 B.C.). Compare c. 17 § 2, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μοναρχικόν.

ἄλλως = merely.

τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν. Dio interprets the assumption (or bestowal) of the name Caesar, originally a cognomen of the Iulii, as intended to give the Principate the character and standing of an hereditary office. The first instance of the use of this name for the designation of the "heir-apparent" is its bestowal by Hadrian upon Lucius Helius Verus "qui ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus" (Iulius Capitolinus *Verus* I. 6; see Abbott, op. cit. p. 341, § 400). Augustus had owed everything, one might say, to his having been adopted as son and heir by Julius. This involved the change of his name from Gaius Octavius to Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus. From B.C. 40 onwards his style always begins "Imp. Caesar" (Furneaux, *Introd.* to vol. I. of Tacitus' *Annals*, pp. 76 sq.). Augustus adopted the sons of Agrippa and Julia, who are known as Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar. Gaius is called "princeps designatus" in an inscription found at Pisa

(Furneaux, op. cit. p. 98 n. 1). Tiberius, on being adopted by Augustus, took the name of Caesar. In the "lex de imperio" of Vespasian, Augustus is simply "divus Augustus", but Tiberius is "Tiberius Iulius Caesar Augustus", and Claudius is "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus"; Vespasian himself is "Caesar Vespasianus Augustus". In S. Luke ii. 1 Augustus is "Caesar Augustus", in iii. 1 Tiberius is "Tiberius Caesar"; in Acts xi. 28 (T. R. and Cod. Laud.) Claudius is "Claudius Caesar". Galba at first assumed the style of "Legatus Senatus ac Populi Romani". When news came of Nero's death, he dropped this title, and assumed "Caesar" instead. On the occasion of adopting Piso Licinianus, he asserted that "Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica". This probably was meant as an insinuation that Augustus regarded the whole "res publica" as his "res privata". Galba further observed that under Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, the Roman People had been "unius familiae quasi hereditas", but liberty had been instituted in his own election, and now, "finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo", adoption would always provide the best man available as successor. The maintenance of the name Caesar, originally a personal cognomen, as part of the imperial style expressed belief in hereditary succession, even by legal fiction, as the best, if not the only way, of establishing an operative, efficacious bond between the Emperor for the time being and "the first, the unique, Imperator Caesar". In Bk. 43, ch. 44, speaking of the "praenomen Imperatoris" (as distinguished from the name when received by way of "acclamatio" or "salutatio"—cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 74), Dio says that the Senate conferred it not only upon Julius, but also upon his sons and grandsons, though he was childless: *ὁθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ἡ ἐπικλησις αὐτῇ, ὥσπερ τις ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὕσα καθάπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίκετο.*

ἀξιώματος. "Hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet. Sancta vocant *augusta* patres" Ovid. *Fasti* I. 608-9.

§ 3. *πατρός*, i.e. "Pater Patriae". Cf. Horace *Carm.* I. ii. 49. The formal salutation of Augustus as "Pater Patriae" by the Senate took place U.C. 752 = 2 B.C.: see Mon. Ancyrae c. xxxv, Sueton. *Aug.* 58. The *Fasti Praenestini* give *Non. Febr.* (Feb. 5) as the day (Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c.). Dio, Bk. 55, ch. 10, says that the title had been informally given to Augustus before that occasion. Marius had received this title of honour from the Senate, after the deliverance of the Republic from the terror of the Cimbri and Teutones; Cicero had also been thus honoured for the frustration of the Catilinarian plot. See Cicero *pro Rabirio* 10. 27, *pro Sestio* 57. 121. Caesar, besides "praenomen imperatoris", had "cogno-

men patris patriae" conferred upon him by the Senate, in the name of whose dignity he was assassinated (Cic. *Phil.* II. 13. 31, Sueton. *Iulius* 76, Dio 44. 3). Tiberius persistently refused the title (Tac. *Ann.* I. 72). Nero refused it at his accession "propter aetatem" (Sueton. *Nero* 8). As a general rule, Emperors received it "primo statim principatus die, ut Imperatoris et Caesaris" (Pliny. *Panegy.* 21, quoted by Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 58). Instances of Dio's own time: Pertinax, Alexander Severus (see Iul. Capitol. *Pertinax* 5, 6 and Ael. Lamprid. *Alexander Severus* 2. 4).

ἐξουσίαν . . . ἦν ποτε οἱ πατέρες. See Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 190, on the significance of "pater". It was originally a name of mastery, as its Hebrew equivalent also appears to have been (Malachi i. 6, II Kgs. ii. 12, v. 13, xiii. 14, xvi. 7). The rule of the father over the household, said Aristotle, is βασιλική ἀρχή (*Eth. Nic.* VIII. II. 1-2, *Pol.* I. 5. 1259. b. 10.) The Roman King, in ancient days, had been the *pater* of the great *familia* or household of the Roman People, whose hearth was the altar of Vesta (ἑστία). The Principate was the old kingly government revived—new *princeps* was in truth old *rex* writ large; cf. Dio 52. 1: ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, and above, ch. 17 § 1: ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη, ch. 12 § 5: οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν μοναρχίαν καταθέσθαι ἐπεθύμησε.

κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν. Dio writes as the Roman Senator.
ἀρχήν, "especially".

ἐς παραίνεσιν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VIII. 10 (12). 2: παρέκβασις δὲ βασιλείας τυραννίς. ἄμφω γὰρ μοναρχίαι, διαφέρουσι δὲ πλείστον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ ἐαυτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων . . . μεταβαίνει δ' ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδα. φαυλότης γὰρ ἐστὶ μοναρχίας ἢ τυραννίς. ὁ δὲ μὲν μοχθηρὸς βασιλεὺς τύραννος γίνεσθαι, and II (13). 1: [ὁ βασιλεὺς] εὖ ποιεῖ τοὺς βασιλευμένους, εἴπερ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐπιμελεῖται αὐτῶν, ἢ εὖ πράττωσιν, ὥσπερ νομῆς προβάτων. ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν εἶπεν. τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ πατρικὴ . . . , also 10 (12). 4: ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ πρὸς νιῆς κοινωνία βασιλείας ἔχει σχῆμα. τῶν τέκνων γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μέλει. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία πατέρα προσαγορεύει. πατρικὴ γὰρ ἀρχὴ βούλεται ἢ βασιλεία εἶναι. ἐν Πέρσῃ δ' ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς τυραννικὴ. χρώνται γὰρ ὡς δούλοις τοῖς νιῇσιν (see the O. T. passages referred to in the note on ἐξουσίαν κ.τ.λ.).

§ 4. κατὰ τὸ ἤδη πατριον. Notice ἤδη, referring to Dio's own time and generation.

πᾶσαι ἡμα . . . τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλοι κατὰ χρόνους. The successive pro-rogations of Augustus' tenure of the Principate are mentioned in ch. 16 § 2. At the time of Augustus' decease, Tiberius was "collega

imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis". He had been invested with *trib. potest.* three times, (1) in U.C. 748=6 B.C., for five years (Dio, 55. 9), (2) U.C. 757=A.D. 4, for ten years (Dio 55. 13), and (3) U.C. 766=A.D. 13 for a term not mentioned by Dio, but probably for another ten years (Dio 56. 28). The Senate besought him to retain his position as "caput reipublicae", and was allowed to have its way. Tiberius, however, refused the "praenomen Imperatoris", the "cognomen Patris Patriae", and the "corona civica". The title "Augustus" he used only in letters to kings and princes (Sueton. *Tiberius* 26). At the same time, he does not appear to have ever sought renewal of his tenure of *imperium* and *tribunicia potestas*. Caligula had "ius arbitriumque omnium" conferred upon him by the Senate immediately upon his return to Rome from the death-bed of Tiberius (Sueton. *Caligula* 14). "He received in one day" says Dio, Bk. 59. ch. 3, "all the honours that Augustus, in the course of a long reign accumulated slowly and piece by piece, while Tiberius even refused some of them". When Claudius was hailed as "Imperator" in the Praetorian Camp, after the murder of Caligula, the Senate τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἤκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο (Dio 60. 1). In the case of Nero, again, "sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta" (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 69). Of all the honours bestowed upon him on the Ides of October, U.C. 807=Oct. 15, A.D. 54, Nero declined only the name of Pater Patriae, "propter aetatem" (Sueton. *Nero*. 8). The various powers and titles constituting the Principate were conferred simultaneously upon Vespasian by a S.C. doing duty for the old *lex curiata* (see Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 407-408: text of the "lex de imperio Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti"), and this was the regular practice thereafter. Pertinax, for instance, "ea die, qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam Patris Patriae nomen recepit, necnon simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec non ius quartae relationis". Iulius Capitolinus, from whose memoir of Pertinax this record is cited (ch. 5. 6) asserts that Pertinax "primus omnium" received this accumulation of honours in one day, but it is difficult to reconcile this with all that is known of the principates of Caligula, Claudius, and Vespasian. Compare c. 17 § 11: note on ὅπως μὴδὲν, κ.τ.λ.

§ 5. τὴν τιμητείαν. See on ch. 17 § 3 πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν.

κατὰ τὸ ἀρχεῖον. *qu. ἀρχαῖον?*

τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς. In virtue of *consularis potestas*, the functions of the *censura* having been originally included in those of the consulate.

c. 19 § 1. Compare Tacitus *Ann.* I. 9: non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur, III. 28: Pom-

peius . . . quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. Exin continua per viginti annos discordia, etc., *Hist.* I. 16 (Galba to Piso): imperaturus iis hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem, Dio 52. 14 (Maecenas' advice to Octavian): *εἴ τι κήδη τῆς πατρίδος . . . μεταρρυθμίσον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι τισι πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὅσα βούλονται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐξετάζης, εὐδαιμονίας ἅπασιν αἰτίων γίγνεται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφοράς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τι καὶ μαινομένῳ ξίφος ὀρέγει, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει.* In this last-quoted passage it is really Dio who speaks, though doubtless Maecenas' own convictions happen to be represented correctly enough. Compare Dio Bk. 44. ch. 1: Caesar's murderers claimed that they were *ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου*, but in truth they were wicked conspirators against him, and threw the State, which had been under an orderly government, into confusion. "Government by the People" (*δημοκρατία*) is a phrase that sounds well, but the thing in its actual working belies, and is belied by, its name. Monarchy, on the other hand, sounds harsh, but it is the best régime to live under. *οὐ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι.* Compare the political doctrine of Odysseus in *Iliad* B. 204 sq. and Aristotle, *Politics* IV. (VII), 9, 3-4 (1328. b. 33-1329, a. 2).

§§ 2-6. The publication of the *Acta Senatus* (Proceedings of the Senate) had been discontinued by Augustus. But they could be consulted by any one who could obtain leave from the "Praefectus Urbi", and Dio, being a Senator, should have had no difficulty in obtaining that faculty. Moreover, extracts from the *Acta Senatus* were published in the *Acta Diurna* or *Acta Populi*, copies of which were despatched to the provinces, where they were eagerly read (*Tac. Ann.* XVI. 22). These *Acta Diurna* contained records of births and deaths, reports of campaigns, elections, trials, testaments of prominent men, funerals (*Tac. Ann.* III. 3), edicts of magistrates, decrees and acclamations of the Senate, prodigies, calamities (such as earthquakes and fires), the erection of new buildings (*Tac. Ann.* XIII. 31). Dio insinuates that the reports contained in these *Acta Populi* were often unveracious, being evil examples of the suppression of fact and the suggestion of falsehood, drawn up to serve not truth, but expediency. The *Acta Diurna* were an official publication before as well as after the institution of the Principate. It is open to question whether the degree of publicity attaching to measures taken by the Executive was very much greater in the earlier than in the later epoch. At the same time, it can hardly be denied that under the rule of jealous and suspicious Emperors, such as Tiberius or Domitian, Romans

residing in the provinces might often be timid and cautious in writing to their friends in the capital, and the latter no less chary of generally making known the news that reached them in private correspondence. Reports of campaigns would, of course, be specially liable to be "edited". Bad news might make trouble in Rome, and the officials charged with the publication of the *Acta* might often enough announce victories in place of serious defeats. The account of the campaign of Alexander Severus against the Persians in A.D. 232, contained in the "Augustan History" differs widely from the account given by Herodian—see Gibbon, chs. vi. and viii. It is at least possible that the former is an embellished version of the reports published in the *Acta Diurna*, while the latter came from a source less dignified perhaps, but withal less corrupt. On the subject of historiography under the Emperors, compare Tacitus *Ann.* I. 1: veteris Populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt: temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaiique et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae: postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt; I. 81: (varying records of the manner in which consuls were created in the reign of Tiberius); II. 88 ("scriptores senatoresque": probably "senatores" means the *Acta Senatus*, to which Tacitus might have had access); III. 3 ("scriptores rerum" and "diurna actorum scriptura" mentioned); IV. 32-33 (Tacitus' reflections on the subject-matter of his *Annals*—"nobis in arto et inglorius labor"); 34 (the case of Cremutius Cordus, accused of treason because he had written of Brutus as "the last of the Romans"); XIII. 31: Nerone secundum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere: nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus quis molem amphitheatri apud Campum Martis Caesar extruxerat volumina implere: cum ex dignitate Populi Romani repertum sit, res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis Urbis actis mandare. In this passage Dio adapts Thucydides I. 20-23.

§ 2. τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῖς δημοσίοις = "diurna actorum scriptura" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 3). The publication of these was not suspended or prohibited by the Emperors.

§ 3. τῶν παραδυναστευόντων, e.g. Seianus the "fellow-labourer" of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 1-2); Narcissus and Pallas, the all-powerful freedmen of Claudius (Sueton. *Claud.* 28-29: his, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non principem se, sed ministrum egit) Tigellinus (Juvenal, I. 155-6) and Vatinius (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 34: inter foedissima aulae ostenta) the favourites of Nero; Perennis and Cleander, the "vizirs" of Commodus; and Plautian, "praefectus praetorio" under Septimius Severus (Gibbon, chs. IV. and

v.). Among the παραδυναστεύοντες also must be reckoned ambitious Empresses, such as Livia, Messalina, Agrippina, Iulia Mamaea.

§ 5. παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ = "apud socios".

c. 21. § 1. τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα. Cf. Bk. 60, c. 1: τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἦκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ.

§ 2. δι' ὄχλου. Cf. the use of διὰ in such phrases as δι' ἐχθρας ἵεναι τινι = to become involved in enmity with a person.

§ 3. ἰδιογνώμωνων = τῇ ἰδίᾳ μόνον χρώμενος γνώμῃ, "consulting his own judgment alone".

ἐς τὸ δημόσιον. Sueton. *Aug.* 40: comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit.

ἐξετίθει = "promulgabat".

παρησίαν. Sueton. *Aug.* 51: clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt; 54: nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

§ 4. The "consilium Caesaris". Sueton. *Aug.* 35: sibi que instituit consilia sortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem Senatum referendis ante tractaret.

νομίζεσθαι, "it became a practice that". Cf. ἐνομήσθη in c. 12 § 4 and c. 17 § 11, and κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον in c. 1 § 1.

§ 5. Compare the advice given (so Dio would have his readers believe) to Octavian by Maecenas, Bk. 52, c. 15: ἐκεῖνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει γενοῖτ' ἂν, τὸ τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μητ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μητ' ἐναντιούμενον, καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλευμάτων διοικεῖσθαι, . . . τὸ τε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὀρίσειν . . . Octavian, however, did not act upon this advice in all its rigour.

ἐδίκαζε = "ius dicebat".

§ 6. ἔκρινε . . . ὥς καὶ πρότερον. In the Republican epoch, the Senate had acted as a court of arbitration over contending municipia in Italy. It had also appointed commissioners to deal with such extraordinary cases as the Bacchanalia in B.C. 188 (Livy xxix., 14). Under the Emperors, its judicial functions were enlarged, and it became the court in which persons accused of treason were commonly tried and sentenced. For instances of such trials, see ch. 23 §§ 5-7 (the case of Cornelius Gallus), Tac. *Ann.* i. 74 (Granius Marcellus), ii. 27-32 (Libo Drusus), iii. 10-18 (Piso), iii. 49 (Luttorius Priscus), iv. 28-30 (Vibius Serenus), 34-35 (Cremutius Cordus), xvi. 27 f. (Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus). It was by sentence of the Senate (passed, of course, in accordance with the known wishes of the Emperor) that Seianus was put to death (Dio 58. 10 and 11). In A.D. 62 Nero "auxit Patrum honorem,

statuendo ut qui a privatis iudicibus ad Senatum provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent cum iis qui Imperatorem appellavere" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 28). The appellate jurisdiction of the Senate, however, did not exclude that of the Emperor; see for instance Dio 59. 18: [Caligula] ἐδίκασε καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ τινα καὶ ἐκείνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔκρινεν. οὐ μεντοὶ αὐτοτελὴς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς συχναὶ ἐγίγνοντο.

πρεσβείαις κ.τ.λ. E.g. Tac. *Ann.* i. 79 (deputations from the *municipia* and *coloniae* of Italy), iii. 60 and iv. 55-56 (deputations from the cities of Asia), iv. 43 (from Lacedaemon and Messene), xii. 10 (Parthian ambassadors), 62 (deputies from Byzantium). Deputations of provincials bringing complaints and charges of "repetundae" presented themselves before the Senate (e.g. *Ann.* iv. 15).

ἀρχαιρεσίας = comitia. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 40: Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit, and 56: Quoties magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat, supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribubus, ut unus e populo; Tac. *Ann.* i. 15: Tum primum (sc. Tiberio nuper rerum potito) e Campo comitia ad Patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio Principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est, nisi inani rumore. . . .

§ 7. αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο = "commendabat sine repulsa et ambitu designandos".

μητ' ἐκ παρακλεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκάσμου. Suetonius l. c. says that Augustus imposed severe penalties upon "ambitus". But he seems to have had little faith in these penalties, for his custom was to give 1000 sesterces to any voter in the tribes Fabia and Scaptia, to whom he belonged, "ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent". The natural effect of this measure would be a general whetting of the appetite for largess. Tacitus (l. c.) supplies evidence showing that δεκάσμος was not stopped, when he says that by the transfer of elections from the Campus to the Curia the Senate was "largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus" Dio's παρακλήσεις corresponds to Tacitus' "preces sordidae", and δεκάσμος to "largitiones". In this matter of elections to magistracies, Augustus followed the precedent set by Julius, who, Suetonius says (*Caesar* 41.), "comitia cum Populo partitus est; ut, exceptis consulatus competitoribus, de cetero numero candidatorum, pro parte dimidia, quos Populus vellet, pronunciarentur; pro parte altera, quos ipse edidisset. Et edebat per libellos, circum tribus missos, scriptura brevi: 'Caesar Dictator illi tribui—Commendo vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant'".

c. 22 § 1. τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει, refer to c. 2 § 7—the year of his seventh consulate, U.C. 727 = 27 B.C.

τὰς ὁδοὺς. Sueton. *Aug.* 30: Quo autem facilius undique Urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Mon. Ancyr. c. xx: Consul septimum viam Flaminiam ab urbe Ariminum feci et pontes omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

§ 2. ἀψίδων = "arches". These stood as gateways to the road. τῇ τοῦ Τιβ. γεφ., viz. the Pons Mulvius, by which the Flaminian Road was carried across the Tiber, a short distance to the north of the city. Its modern representative is still called Ponte Molle. Augustus' arch was probably at the end furthest from the city.

ἐν Ἀρμίνῳ, the terminus of the Via Flaminia on the Adriatic coast, still surviving in Rimini. The arch constructed at Ariminum still stands.

ἐκστρατεύσειν ἡμέλλε. See § 5.

§ 3. τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, viz. the *fiscus* and the *aerarium*. αὐτῶν = τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ δήμου. The revenues of Caesar's provinces were Caesar's revenues. He also drew revenues from estates in the other provinces, these revenues being distinct from the imposts and rents levied by the proconsuls. Among the various sources from which supplies came into the *fiscus*, Caesar's treasury, the most copious were the provinces of Gaul and Egypt. The possession of the latter alone was sufficient to make the Princeps the wealthiest citizen of Rome. He also had estates in Italy, upon which he could draw for the means of carrying out public works. As Augustus more than once came to the assistance of the *aerarium* or public treasury (see ch. 2 § 1 note on ἐδανείσατο), there is some reason for Dio's inability to distinguish between expenditure from the *aerarium* and expenditure from the *fiscus*.

ἀνδριάντας . . . ἔκοψε. Suetonius speaks of the melting-down of silver statues of Augustus, but in his account of the matter the money so obtained was applied to the purchase of golden tripods for the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (*Aug.* 52).

δήμων = "municipiorum".

δανείσματα, ἐπικόουν. The Emperor might provide some "public utility" at his own charges, and then charge the public for the use of it. This would be "lending" rather than "giving". Suppose, for example, that he paid for the building of a number of "foricae" and then leased them to "conductores" (Juvenal iii. 38 and Mayor's note).

§ 5. Βρεττανίαν. Britain afforded a refuge to disaffected Gauls, and was a possible base for a movement aiming at the expulsion of

the Romans. By refusing to surrender fugitives from Roman authority, the Britons brought upon themselves the invasion of their country in the reign of Claudius (Sueton. *Claud.* 17).

ἐδόκουν, "thought good". Cf. I Cor. xi. 16: εἰ δὲ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνηκος εἶναι, "if anyone thinks fit to be contentious", Phil. iii. 4: εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, Hebr. xii. 10: κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπαίδευσεν, Ev. Marc. x. 42: οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν, and the term δόγμα (=edict, decree, *placitum*).

ἀπογραφάς. The plural may possibly be used because (1) *cives Romani* and *socii* would have to be registered separately, and (2) the registration would be carried on simultaneously in a large number of districts, at a large number of centres.

τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. By βίον διακόσμησις one would understand measures of police, for the protection of life and property; provision for the improvement and extension of roads, to facilitate commerce; the prohibition of customs which, though ancient, were savage and inhuman, such as sacrificial manslaughter; also laws regulating trade between Gaul and other parts of the Empire. Under πολιτείας διακόσμησις would come "constitutions" defining, e.g., the position and rights of native chieftains, the "primores Galliae", and fiscal regulations. It is not easy to make a very sharp distinction. Anything that affects πολιτεία affects βίος.

ch. 23 § 1. ὁδοῶν . . . ὑπάτευσε. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 26: quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracoe iniit. The year of Augustus' eighth consulate is U.C. 728 = 26 B.C. Statilius Taurus, colleague of Augustus in this consulate, was "consul suffectus" in U.C. 717 = 37 B.C. He played a distinguished part in the war with Sextus Pompeius, U.C. 718, and was granted a triumph two years later in honour of the successful campaign in which he had brought the province of Africa under Octavian's jurisdiction. Soon after his triumph he accompanied Octavian to Dalmatia, and he appears to have remained there until the time of the final conflict between Octavian and Antony. In the campaign of Actium, he commanded the land-forces as one of Octavian's *legati*. It was in the year after Actium, U.C. 724 = 30 B.C., that he built the amphitheatre afterwards known by his name, Dio 51. 23: τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτι ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος θέατρον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθινον καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὁπλομαχίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἕνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε. This right of getting a man of his own choice elected praetor every year must have been granted on the motion of Octavian. It shows clearly the esteem in which Taurus was held. In the

course of U.C. 729 he was engaged in warfare with the Cantabri, Vaccaei, and Astures in Spain. Augustus made him prefect of the City, when he set out on his expedition to Gaul in U.C. 738, Dio 54. 19: τὸ ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας, τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικῆνᾳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε; Tac. Ann. VI. 11: Taurus Statilius, quamquam propecta aetate, egregie toleravit [potestatem praefecturae]. The amphitheatre he built was completely destroyed in the great fire of Rome, A.D. 64; see Dict. Antiq: *Amphitheatrum*.

τὰ Σέπτα = Saepta: the buildings, also known as Saepta Iulia, erected on the Campus Martius and used as polling-booths by the Populus Romanus in its assemblies by centuries or by tribes (*comitia centuriata*, *comitia tributa*). "Saepta" means "enclosures", and the polling-booths or polling-rooms were also called "Ovilia" i.e. "sheepfolds". Other names were "carceres" and "cancelli", the latter referring to the partition-walls. (N. From *saeptus* = "fenced in" and *cancelli* are derived the ecclesiastical terms *transept* and *chancel*). The enclosures or compartments were arranged in correspondence with the number of the tribes, classes, and centuries. Before 700 U.C. = 54 B.C. the Saepta were wooden structures: in that year Caesar undertook the substitution of stone and marble for wood. This work is referred to in a letter written by Cicero to Atticus in 700 U.C. (ad Att. IV. 16. 14.) as follows: "in Campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi, eaque cingemus excelsa porticu, ut mille passuum conficiatur". (In this letter, Cicero writes as "amicus Caesaris".) The work, left unfinished at the time of Caesar's death, was continued by the triumvir Lepidus, but Lepidus' enforced retirement into private life at Circeii in 718 U.C. = 36 B.C. caused a further delay, the ornamentation of the buildings with wall-paintings and variegated marbles being left to be taken in hand and completed by Agrippa. See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, art. *Comitia*; also Lauciani, "Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome", pp. 473-474. Note the representation of Latin *ae* by Greek *ε* in Σέπτα. The proper representative or equivalent of *ae* is *αι*: e.g., πραιτώριον = praetorium, Καῖσαρ = Caesar. But *ε* and *αι*, which in Modern Greek are identical in pronunciation, are found interchanged in Greek MSS as far back as the 2nd century B.C. See Jannaris, Historical Greek Grammar, § 49: Blass, Grammar of New Testament Greek, § 3. 7. In the Codex Sinaiticus (circ. A.D. 400) the following instances occur:

Isaiah. ii. 19 εἰσενῆγκανται (for εἰσενέγκαντες)

Isaiah xxi. 2. *Ελαμειτε*: subsequently altered by correctors to *Ελαμειται*.

Jeremiah. xxv. 16 (=xlix. 36.) *Ελαμ*, altered by correctors to *Αιλαμ*.

Jeremiah. xxvi. 2 (=xli. 2.) *Εγυπτω*, altered by correctors to *Αιγυπτω* (*Αιγύπτω*).

Psalm cxviii. (cxix) 77, *ζησομαι*, but 88 *ζησομε*.

The various readings of the MSS quoted in Dr. Swete's apparatus criticus on Psalm cxviii (cxix) 25, 40, 57, 77, 88 and 116 (vol II of his edition of the LXX) are instructive in this connection.

πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας = "tributis comitiis" in Cicero, l.c. The Campus Martius was the proper assembly-ground of the centuries rather than of the tribes. But under the later Republic the organization of the centuriate assembly was re-modelled, on the basis of the number of the tribes, viz: 35. See Mayor's note on Cicero's Second Philippic, c. 33. § 82.

§§ 3-4. Agrippa "fidem faciebat civilis animi". Compare Bk. 54. c. 28 (where Dio, having recorded the death of Agrippa and his funeral honours, once more eulogizes him): 'Αγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετήλλαξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλίᾳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ συμφωρότατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐβελοντῆς ἡττάτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέχων πᾶσαν τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετῆν ἀνήλπισκεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐπαχθὴς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίφθορος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὥς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργεσίαις ὥς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο . . . οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο. In Bk. 52, Dio represents Agrippa as advising Octavian to restore the Republican polity in its pristine freedom. The advice of Maecenas, recommending a monarchical regime (though disguised), prevailed over that of Agrippa. Nevertheless, says Dio, "Agrippa gave Octavian the most hearty assistance, though the counsel he had offered had been contrary". He helped Octavian indeed, to establish his monarchy with as much eagerness as though this policy had been his own. If we are to believe a statement of Dio's, which after all may have only been a piece of tittle-tattle, one of Augustus' reasons for marrying Julia to Agrippa was that Maecenas had warned him that he had made Agrippa so great that he must either put him to death or make him his son-in-law. Perhaps Maecenas envied Agrippa, and knew what was coming when he said this (See Dio 54. 6). Agrippa must have led an unenviable

life with Julia for the wife of his bosom: it is perhaps one of the strongest proofs of his loyalty to Augustus that the marriage did not lead to a rupture between them.

§ 5. Γάλλος Κορνήλιος. Cf. Bk. 51, c. 17 (U.C. 724=30 B.C.): *τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῇ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε.* While Octavian advanced upon Egypt by its eastern approaches, Gallus, being one of his *legati*, had landed in Libya, near Cyrene, and seized Paraetonium, where Antony attacked him, but was utterly defeated (Bk. 51, c. 9). Gallus then joined Octavian in the blockade of Alexandria. Gaius Cornelius Gallus was a native of Forum Iulii in southern Gaul; his father may have been a freedman of Sulla or of Cinna, who were both Cornelii. We find him in Rome at the age of twenty, or thereabouts, attracting the attention of Asinius Pollio and other magnates by his poetry. Octavius, on coming to Rome in 710 U.C. to take up his inheritance and avenge the murder of Julius, was joined at once by Gallus, whom we find in 713 U.C.=41 B.C. acting as commissioner for the distribution of lands among the veterans in northern Italy (*III vir agris dividundis*.) On this occasion he protected the Mantuans, and Virgil in particular, against the encroachments of unjust surveyors. In 723-724 U.C.=31-30 B.C. Gallus was one of Octavian's *legati* in the campaigns against Antony and Cleopatra, and was rewarded for his services by being appointed prefect of Egypt after the conquest. The circumstance that he was an *eques*, not a Senator, was all in his favour, for Octavian regarded Egypt as too wealthy a province, and from a strategic point of view too strongly placed, to be entrusted to a senator (see quotations from Dio Bk. 51, c. 17 and Tac. *Ann.* II. 59, above, in note on c. 12 § 2 *νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα*). Octavian was resolved upon keeping Egypt entirely at his disposal and under his control. With this end in view, it was far safer to employ an equestrian as his deputy for the government of the country. The prefect of Egypt was really to be a viceroy; Octavian was to carry on the succession of the ancient kings of the land. Suspicion of treasonable intentions on the part of the prefect of Egypt, who held the keys of the greatest granary of the Empire, and whose position was so strong both for attack and for defence, must have put an intolerable strain of anxiety upon the Princeps. The acts laid to Gallus' charge were of a kind which might easily be represented as evidence of treason, and Augustus was given to suspicion. It is not surprising that Gallus was recalled to Rome. Dio (see ch. 24 § r) is fully persuaded that most of the charges laid against Gallus were false. Possibly Gallus would have been acquitted, had he been tried by the Princeps himself, and not by the Senate. But Augustus was now far away from Rome, and

affairs in Gaul and Spain called urgently for attention. There was a strain of bloodthirstiness in him (see Sueton. *Aug.* 27) as well as a habit of suspicion, and neither Agrippa nor Maecenas was at hand to control it. It is likely enough that he decided that Gallus must be condemned, as a warning to his successors in the prefecture, and that this decision was communicated to the Senate, which acted accordingly. Yet when the news of Gallus' suicide was brought to the Princeps, he shed tears, and lamented that he alone was not allowed to set bounds to displeasure with his friends (Sueton. *Aug.* 66). The career of Gallus, brilliant and distinguished as it was, found a miserable end. The friend of Asinius Pollio, Ovid, Virgil, and, until the accusations of treason were heard, of Octavian, must have been a man of "good parts". The defence of Parae-tonium against Antony showed that Gallus was an able strategist. Virgil dedicated his tenth Eclogue to Gallus, and Ovid (*Trist.* iv. x. 5) placed him among the foremost of Roman elegiac poets. Of his poetry and rhetoric, however, nothing has survived the vicissitudes and ravages of time.

§ 5. ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. Cf. Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 865-873. ἀπελήρει. Possibly he retailed stories about the Princeps which were neither creditable nor decent. Stories of a gravely scandalous character certainly had been put in circulation, mainly by Mark Antony and his brother Lucius, and some of them have been handed down in Suetonius' narrative (*Aug.* 67-68).

παρέπραττε. "Besides" (παρά) all these foolish vapourings, there were many acts of a culpable nature.

εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ. By setting up statues made in his own image and likeness, Gallus rendered himself liable to be accused of attempting to make the provincials think that *he* was the real sovereign lord of the country. Egyptians were perhaps especially adapted to receive such an impression. Some of these εἰκόνες may have been figures in bas-relief, sculptured and coloured in the Egyptian style, representing the prefect with the insignia of the ancient kings.

ἑσέγραψε. In hieroglyphics? It is a tenable hypothesis, of course, that Gallus had committed the execution of the statuary to native artists and workmen, and that they, without any orders from him, represented him in regal proportions and with regal symbols. They would thus have given reason to suspect that *they* at any rate regarded Gallus as their sovereign, and it would have been their unintended mistake that involved him in disaster. Inscriptions in his honour, however, could hardly have been carved upon the *pyramids* without his express orders, and the pyramids were *royal* monuments—"instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum" (Tac. *Ann.* II. 61, Herodotus. II. 124-5, 127, 134).

§ 6. *ἡτιμώθη*. He was deprived of his prefecture, and forbidden to reside in any of Caesar's provinces. This prohibition meant that Caesar did not regard him as a person whom he could trust (see c. 12 § 2).

ἄλλοι συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο. Carrion-birds swooping down upon a dying man. Compare Juvenal's reflections upon the fall of Seianus, and Dio 58. 11 (referring to the same event): *ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν κατέιδεν, ὥστε μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς φυᾶσθαι. ὃν γὰρ τῇ ἑφ' πάντες ὥς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν, τοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα (in carcerem) ὥς μηδενὸς βελτίω κατέσυρον, κ.τ.λ.*

§ 7. *ἡ γερουσία*. Suet. *Aug.* 66: Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti ex infima fortuna provexerat . . . res novas molientem damnandum Senatui tradiderat. . . Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denunciationibus et Senatus consultis ad necem compulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Suetonius (l. c.) says that while Augustus was slow to make friends, he was very loyal to a friendship once formed, and that Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus were almost the only instances of friends whom he repudiated and abandoned.

ἀλῶναι αὐτὸν—ἐψηφίσατο, "passed resolutions declaring him to have been convicted legally and transferring his property to Augustus"—Shuckburgh on Sueton. l. c. From the wording of Dio's narrative it seems that the *actiones* instituted against Gallus were not proceedings of the Senate itself, but of the *iudiciā*, the sentences of these courts receiving final ratification from the Senate. What then does Suetonius' phrase "damnandum Senatui tradidit" mean? Perhaps we are to infer that Gallus was allowed to appeal to the Senate, and that the Senate upheld the sentences of the courts, the Princeps having given notice that the finding of the Senate was to be final.

βουθυῆσαι, lit: "to sacrifice oxen". The Senate appears to have decreed a "supplicatio". Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 32: after the condemnation and suicide of Libo Drusus, "supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti". Dio Bk. 58, c. 12, the Senate decreed the observation of Seianus' overthrow with a variety of joyful solemnities: *ἐψηφίσαντο . . . ἑορτὴν διὰ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπάντων . . . ἀχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἑτησίους διὰ τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας (Pontiffs, Augurs, xviri sacris faciundis, viiviri epulones) τελούντων καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Ἀγούστου θιασωτῶν (the *Augustales*) ἀγάλλεσθαι.*

c. 24. § 1. ἀπέκλιναν, "they turned upon Largus".

§ 2. Προκουλήιος. Proculeius had been associated with Gallus in the attempt to take Cleopatra alive and reserve her for Octavian's triumph—Plutarch *Antonius* c. 79. Dio makes mention of him again in Bk. 54, c. 3, as brother of Terentius Varro, who subjugated the Salassi (c. 25. 3).

μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι κ.τ.λ. = "etiam respirare coram illo periculosum esse".

§ 3. τῷ κακῷ = "the scoundrel".

καὶ ὃν. One would rather have expected ὃν γ'.

§ 4. φυλάσσονται = "cavent ne eadem patiantur".

ἀγορανομήσας = "having been made aedile". The word τότε is somewhat misleading. M. Egnatius Rufus was not aedile until the year 734 U.C. = 20 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 19.

ἐμπρησθείσας. The quenching of fires was the business of the *tresviri nocturni* or *capitales* (Becker, *Gallus*, ch. i. note 1). They had to employ their own slaves or hired men. Egnatius' activity as a captain of *sapeurs-pompieri* appears to have suggested to Augustus the transference of this charge from the *tresviri nocturni* to the aediles (§6), the latter probably being in general the wealthier. In A.D. 6 Augustus instituted the corps of *vigiles* (νυκτοφύλακες) placed under the command of a prefect of equestrian rank. For the purposes of police and protection against fire the city was divided into seven districts. These *vigiles* at first were freedmen, but subsequently their ranks were filled up from other classes besides that of the *libertini*. See Dio 55. 26, and Sueton. *Aug.* 30: *adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est*.

μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων κ.τ.λ. Compare the story told of Marcus Licinius Crassus by Plutarch.

§ 5. τὰ ἀναλώματα. Egnatius Rufus had employed μισθωτοί ("mercede conducti") as well as his own slaves.

παρὰ νόμους, i.e. contra *leges annales*. Cf. Cicero *Phil.* v. 17. 47. In support of his motion "C. Caesarem C. f. pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse, sententiamque loco praetorio dicere etc." Cicero, knowing that dispensation from the "*leges annales*" was required, pointed out that the reason of these laws was proper restraint upon "*adulescentiae temeritas*" and the establishment of "*gradus petitionis inter aequales*". In the earlier ages of the Republic, these laws were unknown. The effect of them had been that "*saepe magna indoles virtutis, priusquam reipublicae prodesse potuisset, exstincta fuit*". C. Caesar (i.e. Octavian) on the very threshold of manhood had shown that the Senate need not wait for the course of time to prove his qualities. Velleius Paterculus (II. 91) states that Egnatius was aedile and praetor in suc-

cessive years. The "*leges annales*" required an interval of a year at least between these two offices. Besides fixing the intervals in the "*cursus honorum*", the "*leges annales*" also fixed the earliest age at which citizens might be candidates for each. See Mommsen, R.H. Bk. v. ch. i, note on the date of Caesar's birth.

ἀθραστον. This, we may suppose, piqued Augustus, who had given particular attention to the restoration of ancient buildings in Rome. Cf. Mon. Ancy. c. xx: duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto Senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat. Furthermore, Augustus had been careful to prevent his restorations from eclipsing the fame of the original builders or founders. See Dio 56. 40: πάντα τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκεύασας οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπεστέρησε.

§ 6. ἐκιδάξειν ἔμελλε. In the year of his praetorship (U.C. 735 = 19 B.C.) Egnatius Rufus attempted to stand as a candidate for the consulship. The consul C. Sentius Saturninus refused to accept his name, as the *leges annales* forbade the holding of the praetorship and the consulship in two successive years, and Saturninus would not accept Egnatius' holding of the aedileship and praetorship in consecutive years as a precedent. Thereupon Egnatius entered into a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. Possibly he was exasperated by the exemption of Marcellus, Tiberius, and Drusus from the very laws enforced against himself. Tiberius "magistratus et maturius inchoavit et paene iunctim percurrit, quaesturam praeturam consulatum" (Sueton. *Tiberius* 9). In U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἥπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη, καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν—*infra*, c. 28 § 3, and notes. Thus Tiberius was made quaestor at the age of seventeen, and Marcellus aedile at the age of nineteen. In U.C. 735 = 19 B.C., the very year when Egnatius was debarred from standing for the consulship, Augustus obtained praetorian "insignia" and rank for Tiberius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, and for Drusus permission to offer himself as candidate for offices of State five years earlier than the laws allowed, as had already been done in Tiberius' case (Dio 54. 10). Egnatius' plot was detected, and those who had joined in it were put to death (Velleius Paterc. II. 91-93).

οἱ πρῶτοι = "primores". Cf. Act. Ap. xiii. 50: τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως.

τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν. Cf. Ep. Rom. xii. 3: μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις. In A.D. 6 Augustus organized a corps of

"vigiles" (νυκτοφύλακες), divided into seven brigades (each one serving for two of the fourteen "regiones" of the city), and composed of freedmen. At first this was only intended as an emergency measure for dealing with conflagrations, which had become numerous. But the new fire-fighting service was found to be so much superior to the slaves and hired men of the aediles, that it was made permanent, and the equestrian "praefectus vigilum" took over the police duties of the old republican magistracy. See § 4; note, on ἐμπρησθείσας.

c. 25. § 1. Polemo was the son of Zeno, a rhetorician of Laodicea in Phrygia. In U.C. 715 = 39 B.C. he was appointed dynast of part of Cilicia by Mark Antony, but after two years or so he was transferred to Pontus. Dio (49. 25), relating the history of Antony's Parthian expedition in U.C. 718 = 36 B.C., speaks of Polemo, who took part in the enterprise, as king of Pontus, not as dynast of Cilicia. Polemo was taken prisoner by the Parthians, but was able to buy his release. In U.C. 719 = 35 B.C., acting as Antony's envoy, he detached Artavasdes, king of Media, from his alliance with the Parthian monarch. He was lucky, or dexterous, enough to escape the ruin which overwhelmed most of Antony's allies after the battle of Actium. In U.C. 740 = 14 B.C. he added the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea) to his dominions, which he held as the friend and ally of the Roman People (Dio, 54. 24).

ἐνεγράφη. This, of course, must have been on the motion of Augustus. Polemo "sociis et amicis Populi Romani adscriptus est".

προεδρία κ.τ.λ. As Augustus was chary of allowing Senators any freedom of movement outside Italy (Bk. 52. 42, cited on c. 12 § 2 above) and *Roman* Senators would in any case have been placed in the front seats in theatres and stadia, it is probable that the βουλευται here mentioned were the members of city councils in Polemo's dominions. The words ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ, then, qualify τοῖς βουλευταῖς. Cf. Gal. i. 13: τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, 1 Tim. vi. 17: τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, and see Blass, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, § 47. 7-8 (pp. 159-160, Eng. trans.).

ἐς πάντα τὰ θεάτρα, sc. in Rome.

§ 2. στρατευσίοντα, "and Augustus, though eager to invade Britain, as the Britons would not come to terms, was prevented by an insurrection of the Salassi, and an outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Cantabrians and Asturians".

ἐκεῖνοι. The Salassi inhabited the valleys on the Italian side of the Great St. Bernard Pass (Pennine Alps). They were a rude tribe of mountaineers, who constantly vexed the inhabitants of the foot-hills and lowlands by their raids. Expeditions had been sent against them U.C. 611, 719 and 720 = 143, 35, 34 B.C. and in

654=100 B.C. Eporedia was founded to keep them in check (mod. Ivrea). Besides the provocation offered by their raids, there was another reason for subjugating them, viz. the existence of gold-washings in their territory (Strabo *Geogr.* iv. vi).

ὥσπερ εἰρηταί μοι. Referring to Bk. 49, chs. 34 and 38, where Dio narrates the history of the expeditions of Antistius Vetus and Valerius Messalla in U.C. 719 and 720=35 and 34 B.C.

οἱ δὲ, the Cantabrians and Asturians, who held the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula. They were not finally conquered till U.C. 736=18 B.C. The completion of the Roman conquest was the work of Agrippa, who compelled the highlanders to migrate to the plains (Dio 54. 11).

τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου, "the strongest places on the Iberian side of the Pyrenees" or "in the Iberian part of the Pyrenees". The Cantabrian Mountains are a westward prolongation of the Pyrenees to the Atlantic coast.

§ 3. ἐνατον. Ninth consulate of Augustus in U.C. 729=25 B.C.

Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, Aulus Licinius Murena, adopted by Terentius Varro and thenceforth known as Aulus Terentius Varro Murena. His sister Terentia became the wife of Maecenas. He was consul (suffectus) U.C. 731=23 B.C., and in the year following was put to death on a charge of conspiracy. Proculeius (ch. 24 § 2) was his brother. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Augustus* 19.

§ 5. τῶν δορυφόρων, the Praetorians. Cf. ch. 11 § 5: τοῖς δορυφόροισιν αὐτόν. This use of δορυφόροι to denote the Praetorians gives an aspect of τυραννίς to Augustus' position, for δορυφόροι were a regular accompaniment of despotism (l.c.: note on ὅπως ἀκριβῆς κ. τ. λ.).

Ἀγούσταν Πραιτ., Augusta Praetoria, now-a-days Aosta, famous as the birthplace of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109 C.E. The city commanded not only the country of the Salassi (Val d'Aosta) but also the Italian exit of the Great St. Bernard Pass. See Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* vol. I. ch. i.

ἔσχεν="received". Cf. c. 26 § 3: ἡ Γαλατία Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα "Galatia received a Roman as governor" and Tac. *Ann.* II. 56: At Cappadoces, in formam provinciae redacti, Q. Veranium legatum accpere.

§ 6. ἐπαιρόμενοι. They were "uplifted" or "exalted" in two ways, (1) upon their mountain-strongholds, and (2) in confidence, relying upon the strength of their high places.

τὰ ὑπερδῆξια, "the heights". Dio is describing "la guerrilla". Napoleon's marshals experienced similar difficulties in the course of the Peninsular War.

τοῖς τε ἰλῶδεσιν. Cf. Tacitus' description of warfare in the forests of Germany, *Ann.* I. 51, II. 16-17.

§ 7. ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων. Failure to bring the Spanish highlanders to submission might encourage secret enemies of the Principate to conspire for its overthrow.

Ταρράκωνα, Tarraco (Tarragona), the capital of Hispania Citerior s. Tarraconensis.

ἡρρώσται, "lay sick".

§ 8. καταφρονήσαντες. Compare the mistake made by Inguio-merus in attacking Caecina's camp, Tac. *Ann.* I. 68.

ἐνικῆθησαν. Their armour and weapons being unsuited to fighting at close quarters (see § 6).

τινα, sc. ὀχυρώματα, ἔρυμνά.

Λαγκίαν. Not far from the site on which Leon (Legio VII Gemina) subsequently grew up.

c. 26 § I. τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους = "veteranos", "emeritos".

Ἀύγουσταν ἡμ. Augusta Emerita, on the Anas, now-a-days Merida on the Guadiana, in the province of Estremadura. Augusta Emerita was a city of Lusitania, but Merida is included in the kingdom of Spain, the boundaries of ancient Lusitania not being exactly identical with those of modern Portugal. Cf. Mon. Ancyr. c. XXVIII: Colonias in Africa Sicilia Macedonia utraque Hispania Achaia Asia Syria Gallia Narbonensi Pisidia militum deduxi (Lusitania apparently is to be understood as covered by "utraque Hispania"), and c. III: Millia civium Romanorum adacta sacramento meo fuerunt circiter quingenta. Ex quibus deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendis emeritis millia aliquantum plura quam trecenta et iis omnibus agros a me emptos aut pecuniam pro praediis a me dedi.

θέας, "spectacula". The arrangements were made and supervised by Marcellus and Tiberius, acting as aediles in the camp. Inasmuch as the legionaries were Roman citizens, they could be accounted of as part, at least, of the *Populus Romanus* under arms. Augustus himself was consul and held tribunicia potestas. His *legati*, such as C. Antistius and T. Carisius, were senators. The constituent elements of the *Respublica Romana*, therefore, were all represented, while the powers and functions confided to the *Princeps* made him, in his own person, competent to act everywhere as though he himself were the State. Already it is beginning to be felt that where the sovereign is, there is Rome, as was plainly suggested to Commodus at his accession (Herodian, I. 1). The camp-aedileship, however, held by Marcellus and Tiberius was not treated as a substitute for the regular urban aedileship in their "cursus honorum". Marcellus was made aedile in Rome U.C. 730,

see ch. 28 § 4. This Cantabrian campaign was Tiberius' first "stipendium". He held the rank of military tribune. Sueton. *Tiberius* 9: Stipendia prima Cantabrica expeditione tribunus militum fecit.

§ 2. τῆς πατρῶας ἀρχῆς, sc. Numidia. Cf. c. 12. § 4, and Bk. 51, c. 15: ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα (daughter of Antony and Cleopatra) Ἰούβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου παιδί συνῴκησε. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσάμενῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῶαν ἔδωκε. Iuba's father had taken the side of Pompey against Caesar, and had died by his own hand after the overthrow at Thapsus. In the interval between that event (U.C. 708 = 46 B.C.) and the restoration of the Numidian monarchy in the person of the younger Iuba, much of the territory of Numidia had become part of Roman province of Africa, or had passed under direct Roman administration. Compensation was found for Iuba in the regions of Gaetulia (Algeria south of the Atlas) and Mauretania (Algeria north of the Atlas, and Morocco).

τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογοίου [?Βογούδου]. Descendants, no doubt, of the Bocchus who betrayed Iugurtha to the Romans (Sallust, *B.I.* c. 113). Bocchus reigned over eastern Mauretania (known later as M. Caesariensis), Bogudes over western Mauretania (M. Tingitana). Mommsen, *R.H.* Bk. v, c. x.

§ 3. Ἀμύντου. After the victory of Actium, Octavian τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς τε βασιλέας τὰ χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύντου τοῦ τε Ἀρχελαίου ἀφείλετο. Amyntas had been dynast of Galatia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia since U.C. 718 = 36 B.C. In U.C. 724 = 30 B.C. Cilicia Aspera was added to his realm by Octavian. He met his death in U.C. 729 = 25 B.C. in the course of a campaign against the Homonadenses in Isauria. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on "Galatians"*, pp. 109-112.

ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον, sc. χώραν, or μερίδα. Galatia "in formam provinciae redacta", now became part of the "Roman order" (ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμος), being placed under the authority of a Roman governor. The officer sent to organize the new province was Lollius, to whom Horace addressed *Carm.* iv. ix.

Λυκαονίας. Derbe and Lystra, "cities of Lycaonia" (Act. Ap. xiv. 6), were also cities of the province Galatia.

τῶ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. These districts were now made a separate province. Cf. Dio, Bk. 54, c. 34: U.C. 743 = 11 B.C., when the Bessi and other Thracians fell to raiding Macedonia, Δούκιος Πισῶν ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς ἦρχε, προσετάχθη σφισι. Lucius Piso was transferred to Macedonia from the province of Pamphylia. Cilicia Aspera was annexed to the dominions of Archelaus king of Cappa-

docia, Cilicia Campestris having already been annexed to the province of Syria. Celenderis (Tac. *Ann.* II. 80) was a stronghold of Cilicia Aspera.

§ 4. Οὐνίκιος. The name appears in the Mon. Ancyr. c. VI: ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐνουκίῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Δουκρητίῳ. Note the difference in spelling, which indicates that there must have been, in some instances, close similarity in pronunciation between *u* and *i*.

Κελτῶν τινας. Dio gives the name Κελτοὶ to tribes or nations which we speak of as "Germans" or "Germanic" (see ch. 12 § 6 above). E.g. Bk. 51. c. 22: Dio speaks of the Suebi as "Kelts"; Bk. 54, c. 32: in 12 B.C. Drusus τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν Πῆγον διαβαίροντας ἀνέκοψε. The "Kelts" who crossed the Rhine were Sugambri. In Bk. 54, c. 36 the Chatti are spoken of as a "Keltic" tribe: τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων . . . ὁ Δρούσος τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε, τὰ δ' ἐχειρώσατο. From the mention made of the Alps in § 5, it is to be inferred that the "Kelts" against whom M. Vinicius took the field were inhabitants of the mountain region between Italy and Germany, and that this expedition was a prelude to the operations of U.C. 739-740=15-14 B.C. which issued in the extension of the frontier defences of Italy to the Danube (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, vol. I. c. i).

κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν. The use of the article indicates the existence of a regular treaty between the Roman State and these barbarians, providing for commerce.

τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ. Mon. Ancyr. c. IV: appellatus sum viciens semel imperator, and c. 17 § 4 above.

τὰ ἐπινίκια="a triumph", as is shown by the use of πέμψαι. A πομπή was contemplated. The term νικητήρια is also used by Dio to denote a triumph. Cf. Bk. 51, c. 21: Γαῖος Καρίνας . . . ἤγαγε τὰ νικητήρια . . . ἤγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα ἦν . . . ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ . . . πολυτελεστάτη δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη ἡ Αἰγυπτία.

αὐτῷ, viz. to Augustus, inasmuch as the victory had been achieved under his auspices (cf. the citation from Bk. 51 in the last note, and Mon. Ancyr. c. IV: ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas). That the pronoun refers to Augustus, however, is decided by the statement with which the sentence concludes: καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη κ.τ.λ. Others besides Augustus "led triumphs" under his Principate, though, as Shuckburgh shows in his note on Sueton. *Aug.* 38 ("iustos triumphos"), only seven instances are recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales*. Dio asserts that Augustus sometimes allowed triumphs for very petty achievements, such as the capture of brigands or the suppression of riots (Bk. 54. c. 12).

ἀψὶς τροπαιοφόρος = "arcus triumphalis". The arch adorned one of the roads crossing the Alps.

τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα. Cf. Mon. Ancyrr. XIII: Ianum Quirinum (Gr. Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον) quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium Populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum prius quam nasceretur a condita Urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe Senatus claudendum esse censuit; Sueton. *Aug.* 22: Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita Urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviori temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. The two occasions previous to Augustus' lifetime were the reign of Numa and the close of the First Punic War. The Senate decreed the closing of the temple of Ianus U.C. 725 = 29 B.C., thus proclaiming the restoration of the Roman peace and Octavian as the restorer; Dio Bk. 51, c. 20: πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τέ πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὥς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, Livy I. 19: bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum confectum bellum, iterum quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta. This was the first time that "Ianus was shut up" in the reign of Augustus, the second being on the occasion mentioned here in c. 26, and the third (if we are to follow Orosius) coming in U.C. 752 = 2 B.C. The exact date of the third closing is a matter of doubt; see Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 22 and Mommsen on Mon. Ancyrr. I. c. Cf. Virgil *Aen.* I. 291 f. (referring to U.C. 725 = 29 B.C.):

Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis
Cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt: dirae ferro et compagibus arctis
Claudentur Belli portae. Furor impius intus
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

and *Aen.* VII. 601 f. (referring to the events of U.C. 730 = 24 B.C.):

Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
Albae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,
Sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
Hyrcanisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos
Auroramque sequi, Parthosque reposcere signa.
Sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
Religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis:
Centum aerei claudunt vectes, aeternaque ferri
Robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.

Has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
 Ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
 Insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
 Ipse vocat pugnas: sequitur tum cetera pubes,
 Aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.

In the Mon. Ancyr. c. XIII and Suet. *Aug.* 22 (the latter passage obviously a derivative of the former) Ianus is called "Ianus Quirinus". Virgil identifies Quirinus with Romulus (*Aen.* I. 292) and describes the "gates of War" as "sanctified by the fear of raging Mars" (*Aen.* VII. 608), while he represents Ianus as the doorkeeper of the temple (l. c. 610). The consul who opens "the gates of War" is arrayed in the "trabea Quirinalis". Horace, *Carm.* IV. xv. 9, speaks of Ianus as "Ianus Quirini"; in *Carm.* III. 3. 15 he identifies Romulus with Quirinus, as also Ovid *Fast.* IV. 56: *gemino junctae Quirine Remo* (cf. II. 475 f.), "Quirinus" being the name of the founder of Rome after he had been translated to heaven (l. c.).

c. 27. § 1. Ἀγρίππας . . . ἐπεκόσμησε. Cf. c. 23 §§ 1 and 2.

τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Π., the "Porticus Neptuni", commemorating the victories of Naulochus (U.C. 718) and Actium.

τὸ Λακωνικόν. The Laconicum (transplanted to Rome from Lacedaemon) was a room in which the bathers were bathed in hot air and perspiration.

λίπα ἀσκεῖν. Cf. Thucyd. I. 6, and the Homeric phrase ἀλείψασθαι λίπ' ἐλαίῳ. Dio uses λίπα as a definitive of ἀσκεῖν, and perhaps it should be written λίπα.

§ 2. τὸ Πάνθειον. The inscription upon the frieze of the portico of the Pantheon reads thus: M. Agrippa. L. f. cos. tertium. fecit. Agrippa's third consulship was held U.C. 727=27 B.C. Dio ascribes the completion (ἐξετέλεσε) of the fabric to U.C. 730=24 B.C. Perhaps the three years U.C. 727-730 were taken up with the execution of interior adornments. Properly speaking, it was a temple of Mars and Venus. The pedestals of their statues were adorned with numerous figures (in relief, we must suppose) of other divinities, and this, Dio thinks, may have been the reason why the name "Pantheon" was given to the temple, though he himself prefers another explanation.

* Ἄρεος . . . Ἀφροδίτης. Mars the father of Romulus and the Romans; Venus, "Aeneadum Genetrix", divine ancestress of the Romans in general (through Rhea Silvia) and of the Iulii in particular (through Ascanius-Iulus).

θολοειδές. The main body of the Pantheon is a rotunda, 142 feet in diameter, covered by a cupola, the summit of which is 143 feet above the pavement. Of this total height of 143 feet, half is occupied by the cupola.

τῷ οὐρ. προσ. The cupola of Santa Sofia in Constantinople was panegyricized by admirers as ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. See Georgius Phranza, *Hist.* III. 8 (p. 289, l. 20. Bonn ed.).

§ 3. ἰδρῦσαι, "to set up a statue of".

ἐπικλησιν, i.e. to call it the *Augusteum*.

μὴ δεξαμένον. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 52: templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit—nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore.

ἐκεῖ μὲν . . . Καίσαρος. On the deification of Julius see Shuckburgh's note on Suet. *Aug.* 15 (*Divo Iulio*). Julius had been deified even in his lifetime. His statue, with the title *Deo Invicto*, had been set up in the temple of Quirinus, and the title of "Iuppiter Iulius" had been bestowed upon him, in the summer of U.C. 709 = 45 B.C. After his funeral, the populace had a column of Numidian marble, with the title "Parenti Patriae" erected in the Forum. This column became a sacred monument, at which sacrifices were offered, vows taken, and disputes settled on oath with invocation of Julius as witness and avenger (Sueton. *Iulius* 85). Compare c. 9 § 5 note on ἰσότηeos. The image of Divus Iulius, descendant of Iulus and Aeneas, was now set up alongside of that of the "mother of the Aeneadae".

ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, as though Augustus and Agrippa were door-keepers of the house. While this was done in order to show honour to those whose images occupied and presence sanctified the house, the dignity of the ostiarii was not left unconsidered. See Virgil *Aen.* VII. 610 and Dio 54. 10, Sueton. *Aug.* 91, for instances of divine door-keepers. Ianus is door-keeper of the temple of War; Iuppiter Tonans was made door-keeper to Iuppiter Capitolinus.

§ 4. λιπαροῦς = "persistent", "steadfast". For remarks upon Agrippa's loyalty, cf. c. 23 § 4.

§ 5. τῆς Ιουλίας, daughter of Augustus and Scribonia. She was born U.C. 715 = 39 B.C. On the very day of her birth Augustus divorced Scribonia, being (if we are to believe Dio) in love with Livia Drusilla, wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero (Dio 48. 34).

τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, son of C. Claudius Marcellus, consul U.C. 704 = 50 B.C. and Octavia, sister of Augustus. He was born U.C. 711 = 43 B.C. In U.C. 725, soon after his return from the East, Augustus τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν ἀδελφιδόον, διένειμε—Dio, Bk. 51, c. 21. This is the Marcellus of *Aen.* VI. 868-887. See further, c. 30.

ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. See ch. 25 § 7.

Μεσσάλα. M. Valerius Messalla fought under Brutus at

Philippi, and stormed Octavian's camp. After the final *débâcle*, he managed to obtain honourable terms for himself and for the troops who under his command had withdrawn to Thasos. He was then a partisan of Antony's until Antony began to bear himself as an Oriental potentate. From U.C. 718 onwards he attached himself to Octavian. In U.C. 720 he led an expedition against the Salassi, and in U.C. 723 he was Octavian's colleague in the consulate and one of the fleet-commanders. The *Fasti Triumphales* contain the record of a triumph granted to Messalla for successes in Aquitaine, U.C. 727. In U.C. 729 Augustus appointed him "praefectus urbis", but he resigned the office within a week (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11). Messalla must have been well advanced in years when the Senate selected him as its spokesman to offer Augustus the title of "Pater Patriae" in February, U.C. 752 = 2 B.C. (v. s., c. 18 § 3). He was a prolific writer (though none of his works have survived), and one of the leading patrons of literary men in the Augustan age. See Hor. *Sat.* i. x. 81, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34, Sueton. *Tiberius* 70.

σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο, i.e. gave Agrippa a suite of rooms in his own abode. It was natural enough; Agrippa had been his *contubernalis* for a number of years.

§ 6. αἰρίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχεν, "obtained a good name", "obtained a good report". Cf. ἔσχεν in ch. 26 § 3, ch. 25 § 5.

c. 28 § 1. δέκατον ἤρξε. The narrative (see § 3) implies that Augustus was still abroad, but on his way back to Rome, when he entered on his tenth consulship. The Norbanus who was Augustus' colleague in this consulship was probably a son of the Norbanus who is mentioned as one of the legates of Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi (U.C. 712) and was consul in U.C. 716 = 38 B.C. If the Norbanus who was consul U.C. 730 had been consul in 716, Dio would have noted that he was consul δεύτερον in 730. For the use and force of the aorist (ἤρξε) compare c. 6 § 3 ἰδιωτεύσαι, c. 11 § 4 αὐταρχῆσαι, c. 17 § 11 ἐνομίσθη and c. 30 § 1 ἄρξας.

τῇ νομηνίᾳ = "Kalendis Ianuariis".

βεβαιόσα. Cf. Bk. 51, ch. 20: ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον (Octavian's fifth consulship, U.C. 725) μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουληίου τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομηνίᾳ ὅροις ἐβεβαίωσαντο (sc. οἱ βουλευταί). See also Tac. *Ann.* i. 72 and Sueton. *Tiberius* 67. Tiberius refused to have the Senate take oath to maintain his *acta* because "exempli causa cavendum ne se Senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset". The *acta* confirmed by the Senate in U.C. 725 = 29 B.C. were those of the two years preceding, viz. the rewards and the punishments meted out to commonwealths and princes in the

East, and especially the conquest and annexation of Egypt. Those confirmed in U.C. 730 = 24 B.C. were the measures taken since U.C. 727 = 27 B.C., in exercise of the various powers vested in Augustus by the "settlement" between him and the Senate described in ch. 12-14. This solemn confirmation of the acts of the Princeps became an annual observance (Tacitus l. c.), though suspended during the principate of Tiberius (Sueton. l. c.). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 22 (objectabat Capito Cossutianus) "principio anni vitare Thræseam sollemne iusiurandum".

καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμάς = "drachmas centenas" = "denarios centenos" = "HS quadringenos". See Mon. Ancy. xv: in consulatu decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi—δέκατον ὑπατεύων ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀνὰ δηνάρια ἑκατὸν ἡρίθμησα.

§ 2. τὸ γράμμα = "edictum".

μὴ πρότερον κ.τ.λ. A display of "good citizenship". The largess was to be granted, not out of any public fund, but "ex patrimonio suo"; nevertheless, Augustus was minded to show that he recognized the dignity of the Senate by requesting its approval. The Senate granted him a magnificent recompense.

πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων κ.τ.λ. See ch. 18 § 1.

αὐτοτελής, cf. ch. 17 § 4: τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς ἐξουσίας. The Senate thus proclaimed, in effect, that the τέλος, "summa res", was in the will and judgment of the Princeps, that will and judgment having power to control and bind (κράτος).

§ 3. ἐπὶ τε . . . αὐτοῦ, "ob salutem et reditum eius". Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III. xiv. 3-4: Caesar Hispana repetit Penates victor ab ora. βουλευεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατ., lit. "to be a Senator among those who had held the praetorship". Marcellus as yet had not even been aedile, though he was now to be appointed to that office (§ 4), but he was authorized to take his seat in the Senate "inter praetorios". Cf. the S.C. passed, on the motion of Cicero, Jan. 1. U.C. 711 = 43 B.C., giving Octavian the status of proprætor (Cic. *Phil.* v. 17, 47; quoted in the note on c. 24 § 5 παρανόμως).

δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν. The Lex Villia (U.C. 574 = 180 B.C.) made forty-three the legal age for candidature in elections to the consulship. Marcellus was in his twentieth year only, and that made him eleven years too young, according to the Lex Villia, even for the quaestorship. Augustus could quote precedent from his own career for dispensation from the Lex Villia. He had been admitted as proprætor to the Senate, had been invested with imperium, and had even been elected consul, in his twentieth year (U.C. 711 = 43 B.C.). The rest of this sentence suggests however that the Lex Villia had been considerably modified. Tiberius, we read here, was

granted authority to stand for each magistracy five years earlier than the law allowed, and was *immediately* (παραχρῆμα) appointed to the quaestorship. Now the Lex Villia originally made thirty-one the age for this office, but Tiberius at this time was only in his eighteenth year. If Tiberius, at the age of eighteen, was made quaestor five years earlier than the law prescribed, twenty-three must have been the legal age. Marcellus, authorized to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal time, is appointed aedile with praetorian or propraetorian standing. This indicates that he was to stand for the consulship, which lay next beyond the praetorship in the scale of "honores", in another two years or so. But he was not over twenty years of age, and if he was to stand for the consulate at twenty-two or twenty-three, the legal age for that magistracy must have been thirty-two or thirty-three. Tacitus, *Ann.* XI, 22, observes that "apud maiores" (i.e. in the *early Republic*) "ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa consulatum ac dictaturam inirent".

§ 4. ἐπιλιπόντων. There being a lack of quaestors in attendance upon provincial governors (i.e. the governors of "provinciae S.P.Q.R."—see ch. 14 §§ 5-7), the vacancies were filled up from the ranks of those who in the course of the last ten years had held the quaestorship without being despatched to the provinces.

ch. 29. §§ 1-2. Renewal of hostilities by the Asturians and Cantabrians, "indoctis iuga ferre". The ambush laid for Roman detachments was no doubt taken as justification for the cruel treatment of Spanish prisoners, cruelty of a kind which suggests that the Roman officers had been studying Assyrian methods of punishment.

§§ 3-8. Expedition of Aelius Gallus against Arabia Felix. The story of this enterprise is related at length by Strabo, Bk. XVI. c. 4. 22-24. Strabo says that the expedition was ordered by Augustus, who "was influenced by the report that this people [sc. the inhabitants of Arabia Felix] were very wealthy, and exchanged their aromatics and precious stones for silver and gold, but never expended with foreigners any part of what they received in exchange". The Emperor hoped "either to acquire opulent friends, or to overcome opulent enemies" (Strabo. l. c. transl. by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer). It appears that Augustus was of the opinion that the trade with Arabia Felix involved a constant efflux of coin from the Empire, without any reflux, and that in the interest of the Empire, in order to stop this drain of gold and silver, Arabia Felix must be annexed or made dependent and tributary. Compare Pliny's complaint that the purchase of spices, silk, and precious stones from Oriental countries was bad business for the Roman

Empire. Dio writes of this expedition as though it began and ended within the compass of a single year—unless we are so to extend the significance of *ταῦτα* as to include events which had befallen since Augustus left Rome for Gaul and Spain. Aelius Gallus probably entered upon the governorship of Egypt in u.c. 728 = 26 B.C., succeeding Cornelius Gallus (see note on *Αἴλιος Γάλλος* below). Strabo XVI. 4. 23 says that Aelius spent a summer and winter at Leukê Kômê in the land of the Nabataeans (Nebaiioth) by reason of sickness, which incapacitated his men. We may assume that the preparations described by Strabo l. c. occupied the last months of u.c. 728 and the beginning of 729; that the army, having arrived at Leukê Kômê, was detained there from the summer of 729 to the spring of 730, and that the expedition returned late in that year. Allusions to this enterprise are to be found in Horace, (*Carm.* I. xxix. 1-4, xxxv. 29-32, and to the fame of Arabian wealth and luxury in II. xii. 24 ("plenas Arabum domos"), III. xxiv. 1, *Epp.* I. vi. 6, vii. 36. Reference to the spices of Arabia in Virgil *Georg.* I. 57, II. 118, and *Aen.* I. 416.

§ 3. *Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα*, "Arabia Felix", the south-western part of the peninsula, which the Arabs call Yemen. The epithet *εὐδαίμων* is probably to be regarded as a mistaken rendering of "Yemen" which means "on the right hand" and so "southern", because the south lies to the right hand of one facing the east, and the Arabs (like the Israelites in O.T. times) made the eastward position their standard, as it were, to which the names of other quarters of the horizon were referred. The error arose from the association of the right hand with good omens and prosperity. The narrative of Strabo XVI. 4. 23-24 shows that "Arabia Felix" contained a good deal of barren and dry land, habitable only by Bedawîn, though at intervals fertile valleys were to be found, green, fragrant, and well supplied with water. Strabo (who could draw upon Aelius Gallus himself for information, in addition to other authorities) speaks of the land of the Sabaeans (Sheba) in south-western Arabia as producing gold, frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, balsamon, and represents their kings and grandees as living in "ivory palaces" (Cf. Ps. xlv. 9, lxxii. 10 and 15, Isaiah lx. 6).

Σαβώς, "king" of a barren tract called Ararene, according to Strabo XVI. 4. 24.

Αἴλιος Γάλλος, successor to Cornelius Gallus (for whom see ch. 23 §§ 5-7). In u.c. 732 = 22 B.C. we find, not Aelius Gallus, but Petronius, governor of Egypt (Dio 54. 5). From Strabo's narrative (XVII. 1. 53-54) it appears that Aelius Gallus left Petronius in charge as *πρόξενος* when he set out for Arabia.

§ 4. τὴν πρώτην, sc. ὥραν, the word being used in its less definite sense, as in Ep. Joann i. ii. 18.

οὐ μὴν ἀπόνως κ.τ.λ. The expeditionary forces consisted of a fleet as well as an army, the latter to march along the coast in order to keep touch with, and be able to obtain supplies from, the former. Strabo attributes the failure of the enterprise mainly to the treachery of the Nabataean Syllaëus upon whom Aelius Gallus relied for guidance in directing the movements of the fleet and the army. Syllaëus gave sailing directions which brought the fleet to grief among rocks and shoals, and "guided" the army into rough and trackless wilds, where water was scarce and bad, and the men suffered from heat, thirst and hunger. When Gallus arrived at Leukê Kômê, most of the army had contracted diseases which Strabo calls στομακάκκη and σκελοτύρβη, "the former affecting the mouth, the other the legs, with a kind of paralysis". These afflictions were traceable to bad water, and to plants which the soldiers (in default, no doubt, of proper rations) had eaten on the march. Gallus had to stay a whole summer and winter at Leukê Kômê, in order to restore the health of his army. Nearly all the loss of life suffered by the expedition was caused, says Strabo, by sickness, famine and fatigue, only seven men being killed in actual fighting.

§ 5. οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὅμοιον. Cf. Thucyd. II. 49.

§§ 6-7. After a march of 50 days through the region called Ararene (see § 3 note on Σάβως), Gallus came to the fertile country of the "Negrani" where he captured a town αὐτοβοεῖ. At six days' marching distance from this place, "the barbarians" attacked him at the crossing of a river (probably a "nullah" or torrent-bed). The Romans lost only two men in the fight, the Arabs about ten thousand (!), being utterly inferior to the Romans in weapons and armour. (The Arabs had yet to feel the stimulus of religious enthusiasm.) After this victory, Gallus captured two more towns, called, the one, Asca, and the other Athrula. He laid siege to a third, called Marsiaba, but was compelled to retire by scarcity of water. At this point, he was two days' march from the "Spice Country", but he turned back, having spent six months on the march since leaving Leukê Kômê. The distance, in traversing which he had consumed six months, by reason of the treachery of his guides, he now accomplished in a little less than nine weeks, and in the eleventh week he had landed all his men at Myos Hormos, on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea.

§ 8. τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης, "this part of Arabia", viz. the south-western region. The land of the Nabataeans was annexed to the Empire by Trajan, A.D. 106, and the Arabian province then formed

was enlarged by Septimius Severus A.D. 195 (Dio, 68. 14, 75. 1.) but the territory thus incorporated in the Roman world lay in northern and north-western Arabia.

τῶν Ἀδούλων, *qu.* τῶν Ἀδανιτῶν. Adula, or rather Adulē ('Ἀδούλη), was a maritime town on the African side of the Red Sea, fronting a bay now known as Annesley Bay, where the British expedition against Abyssinia landed in 1868. Aelius Gallus may have advanced as far as Aden, which is called Ἀδάνη by Philostorgius, and Athana by Pliny (see Dict. Anc. Geogr. s.v. Adane), and certainly was χωρίον ἐπιφανές, being a great centre of commerce between India, Arabia, and Egypt.

c. 30. § 1. Augustus' eleventh consulship, U.C. 731 = 23 B.C.

ἄρξας = ὑπατος γενόμενος, ὑπατος ἀναδειχθείς.

ἡρρώστησεν. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 81: Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est: praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

§§ 1-2. πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων κ.τ.λ. Sueton. *Aug.* 28: De reddenda re publica bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium . . . ac rursus taedio diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac Senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit.

§ 2. τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους . . . γράψας. Cf. the description of the "breviarium imperii" left by Augustus at his death Suet. *Aug.* 101: breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 11: [Tiberius] proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis: quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus; Dio 56. 33: τὸ τρίτον (the third of four βιβλία, volumina—Suetonius mentions three only) τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιοντότροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε. The "breviarium" of U.C. 731 was confided to Piso, as he was Augustus' colleague in the consulate.

τὸν δακτύλιον. Probably the ring bearing a seal engraved with a portrait of Alexander the Great (see Sueton. *Aug.* 50 and Shuckburgh's note). Dio, Bk. 51, c. 3, speaks of Augustus as using a seal-ring engraved with a sphinx, duplicates of which were entrusted to Maecenas and Agrippa, but this statement is made in connection

with affairs and events before the institution of the Principate. Shuckburgh suggests that Augustus substituted the Alexander-seal for the sphinx after the overthrow of Antony left him in sole supremacy over the State. Subsequently, the Alexander-seal was replaced by one engraved in Augustus' own likeness (Sueton. l. c.; Dio l. c.). By giving his ring to Agrippa, Augustus signified that to Agrippa was committed the charge of his papers, including his *testamentum* (if one had been drawn up, as no doubt was the case).

§ 3. Ἀντώνιος Μούσας. Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 128: Divus certe Augustus lactuca conservatur in aegritudine, prudentia Musae medici, cum prioris C. Aemili religio nimia eum necaret. Evidently Aemilius, like Nicias, was much addicted to *θειασμός*. Hor. *Ep̄p̄.* i. xv. 2-5:

nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Permedium frigus.

ἀνέσωσε. Sueton. *Aug.* 59: Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statum aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt [sc. Patres].

χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις. The "ius annuli aurei", under the Republic, had been the exclusive privilege of senators, magistrates, and equites. Verres made himself chargeable with irregularity when he presented his secretary with a gold ring. Under the Principate, the "ius annuli aurei" was granted by the Princeps. Septimius Severus and Aurelian conferred it upon all who were engaged in military service, probably as an inducement to enlist. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. *Annulus*.

ἀπελεύθερος. = "libertinus". The bestowal of the "ius annuli aurei" appears to have carried with it promotion from the status of a freedman to that of an "ingenuus". In A.D. 22 Tiberius issued an edict, ordering that the right of wearing a gold ring should be exercised only by "ingenui" whose fathers and grandfathers had a census of 400,000 sesterces, and not by any slave or freedman. The restriction, however, was short-lived. See Dict. Antiq. l. c.

ἀτέλεια = "immunitas". This might be granted without "civitas". Augustus once granted "immunitas", but refused "civitas" to a protégé of Livia's, "affirmans facilius se passurum fisco aliquid detrahi quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem" (Sueton. *Aug.* 40). Many, if not most, of the physicians resident in Rome in U.C. 731 were in all probability "cives Romani", as the elder Caesar had conferred Roman citizenship on all professors of "artes liberales" who had settled in the capital. The "immunitas",

therefore, bestowed upon Antonius Musa and his professional brethren, must have been exemption from such imposts as "portoria" (cf. the exemption granted by Nero to the soldiery, Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 51) and from such civic duties as "militia" and "tutela".

§ 4. ἔδει—τῆς τύχης—τῆς πεπρωμένης. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I. XXXV. 17-20.

§ 5. Death of Marcellus (in his twentieth year; cf. ch. 28 § 5). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 870 f.

δημοσίᾳ = "publico funere".

ἐπαινέσας = "cum pro rostris laudasset". Cf. Sueton. *Iulius* 84, *Aug.* 100, Tac. *Ann.* III. 76 and IV. 12 ("laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio").

τὸ μνημεῖον. The "Tumulus Augusti" (Tac. *Ann.* III. 4 and 9) or "Mausoleum" (Sueton. *Aug.* 100, *Cal.* 15, *Nero.* 46, *Vespas.* 23) stood close by the left bank of the Tiber, on the north side of the Campus Martius, between the river and the Via Flaminia. Strabo describes it as a mound of earth, encircled by a retaining-wall of white marble, covered with shrubs and surmounted by a bronze equestrian statue of Augustus (*Geogr.* V. 3. 8). Like all Roman burial-places, it lay *extra pomerium*, in accordance with the old Roman law (as quoted by Cicero. *Legg.* II. 58): "hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito". See Shuckburgh's notes on Sueton. *Aug.* 100, also Tac. *Ann.* III. 4-5 and 76, and IV. 9, and Virgil's description of the funeral of Misenus in *Aen.* VI. 212-235.

ᾠκοδομεῖτο. The Mausoleum was as yet incomplete (cf. *Aen.* VI. 875 "tumulum recentem"). Suetonius assigns the construction to Augustus' sixth consulate, i.e. 28 B.C. (I. c.); this must be the date of its commencement.

τῇ τε μνήμῃ κ.τ.λ., "monumento theatri illustravit".

προκαταβληθέντος. Sueton. *Iulius* 44 describes it as "theatrum summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans". Cf. Mon. Ancyrr. XXI: Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. Dio, Bk. 43, ch. 49 and Bk. 54, ch. 26, says that the work was begun by Julius, in emulation of Pompey's theatre, was left unfinished at his death, and was not dedicated until the year U.C. 741 = 13 B.C. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 29.

τῇ τῶν Ῥωμ. πανήγ. The "Ludi Circenses", which were held from the 4th to the 12th of September, and were superintended by the curule aediles. Marcellus, at the time of his death, was curule aedile (see ch. 28 § 4), and his death befell in the autumn of U.C. 731 = (cf. ch. 31 § 3).

δίφρον ἀρχικόν = "sellam curulem". The carrying of a golden

image of Marcellus, a golden wreath, and a curule chair in the procession of the Ludi Circenses (the image and the wreath being placed in the chair) was intended to declare that he was yet "present in spirit", and indeed was an act which might be considered as a kind of apotheosis. In August, U.C. 709=45 B.C. the Senate decreed in Caesar's honour ἐς τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δῖφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διὰ χρυσὸν ἐξίσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι—Dio, Bk. 44, c. 6; cf. Sueton. *Iulius* 76: ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est . . . tensam et ferculum circensi pompa. This apotheosis took place in Caesar's lifetime. In the case of Marcellus, it was instituted after his decease. See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 15 (*Divo Iulio*).

τῶν ἀρχ. τῶν τελ. αὐτὰ, viz. the curule aediles.

c. 31 § 1. ὕστερον. Marcellus died in the autumn. Augustus had recovered health sufficiently to perform the ceremony of abdicating the consulate (c. 32 § 3) on the first of July (Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 27).

οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. There was nothing to be said against Augustus naming a successor to the ownership of his "patrimonium", but the Princeps would not take it upon himself to bequeath the Principate as though it were his own. Heredity, the constant note of kingship, had not been attached to the Principate; see § 4.

οὐδεὶς ἐπέτρεψεν, ominis causa.

τὴν ἐορτὴν κ.τ.λ. If some particular festival is to be understood, it is probably the Megalesia, the festival of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ, Magna Mater, whose cult was introduced into Rome U.C. 550=204 B.C. The performances at the Megalesia (apart from the procession of the *Galli*) were "scenic" or theatrical, concluding with a display in the Circus Maximus (see the calendar in Paley's edition of Ovid's *Fasti*). For the origin of the Megalesia, see Livy XXIX. 14, Ovid. *Fasti* IV. 179 f.

ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἱππέα. Sueton. *Aug.* 43: Ad scenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam Senatus consulto interdiceretur; *Iulius*. 39: [Iulius] edidit spectacula varii generis . . . ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota . . . Ludis Decimus Laberius, eques Romanus, mimum suum egit, donatusque quingentis sestertiis et annulo aureo sessum in quatuordecim e scena per orchestram transiit. The S.C. forbidding equites to perform upon the stage or in the arena was passed U.C. 732=22 B.C. Dio 54. 2: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ γυναικες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνους, τοῖς γε ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μὴδὲν ἐτι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.

ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν. In the Roman theatre, the space corresponding to the Greek "orchestra" (in which the chorus danced) was occupied by the seats of the Senators. By ὀρχήστρα here Dio must be understood to mean the stage, on which "saltatores" (ὀρχησταί) performed.

§ 4. τὴν ἡγεμονίαν = "principatum".

προσφιλή. Cf. ch. 23 §§ 3-4.

οὐκ ἐβούλετο . . . ἐπιτρέπεσθαι. Cf. notes on οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχόν in § 1, and on ὅπως μὴδὲν ἄνευ δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν in ch. 17 § 11.

ch. 32 § 1. ῥατσας, "having become easier" (ῥαίω, akin to ῥάων) i.e. "having recovered".

διὰ τοῦτ', because Agrippa held a higher place in Augustus' confidence and esteem.

διατριβή = "friction".

ὑποστρατήγου = "legatos".

§ 2. στρατηγούς δέκα κ.τ.λ. From the time of Sulla's dictatorship to that of Julius Caesar, the number of praetors annually elected was eight. Julius raised the number from eight to ten, then to fourteen, and finally to sixteen, but subsequently the number must have been reduced to eight again, as Suetonius states that Augustus "numerus praetorum auxit" (*Aug.* 37—see Shuckburgh's note) and here we find Augustus designating ten praetors. In A.D. 11 sixteen praetors were elected, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπῆσαι ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠθέλησεν (*Dio* 56. 25). But this was not made a precedent for the years following. Tiberius, at the beginning of his principate, "candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum" (*Dio* 1. c. οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν), "et hortante Senatu ut augeter, iureiurando obstrinxit se non excessurum" (*Tac. Ann.* 1. 14).

τὰ αὐτὰ κ.τ.λ., mainly judicial work in the capital, and (after the term of office at home) government of "provinces of the Senate and People".

ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, sc. τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. In 727 U.C. = 27 B.C., the *cura aerarii* had been transferred from the quaestors to two *praetorii* elected year by year. Now this charge is transferred to two of the praetors of the year. See ch. 2 § 1. Tacitus speaks of the *praetorii* of the period 727-731 U.C. as "prefects"—*Ann.* XIII. 29.

§ 3. ἀπέιπε τὴν ὑπατίαν, sc. Kalendis Iuliis A.U.C. DCCXXXI. (acc. to C.I.L. I. p. 472).

ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθών. It may be supposed that Augustus, as consul, had appointed July 1 as the day on which the *Feriae Latinae* of U.C. 731 should begin, and that he made use of this opportunity

to abdicate the consulship. The Latin Festival belonged to the class of *feriae conceptivae*, i.e. festivals held, not on the same fixed date every year, but upon dates determined from year to year by the consuls. Augustus, we may suppose, had appointed July 1 as the date with the view of abdicating the consulship at the beginning of the second semester of the year. He might have abdicated in Rome, but there he would have had to encounter the protests and opposition of the Senate, in presence of whom he would have, of necessity, announced his intention. That opposition, of course, would not have been insurmountable, but it would have been troublesome.

ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι ὑπατεύωσιν. That every citizen should have his turn in every office of State was a democratic "counsel of perfection". That every citizen should have at least a chance of election to every office of State was a democratic working principle; hence (e.g. in Athens) elections by lot. Augustus may have had in view the application of this principle, so far as was possible, to the consulate. Although the actual powers exercised by the consuls were now very much reduced, the dignity of the office was great. The circumstance that Augustus had held it so many times rather enhanced its prestige. It was still an object of ambition. Augustus may have thought that the more chances given to every member of the Senatorial Order of attaining to this dignity, the more readily would opposition to the Principate be placated. It may be argued that, the greater the number of consuls elected in every year, the less would the consulate be accounted of, and that Augustus multiplied consuls in order to diminish the prestige and dignity of their office. But this does not square with Augustus' general attitude of respect and even reverence for old Republican institutions.

§ 4. Λούκιον Σήστιον. Augustus nominated Lucius Sestius "consul suffectus" in his place. This Sestius was son of the Sestius defended by Cicero in 698 U.C. = 56 B.C. against charges of bribery and disturbance of the peace (Cicero *Pro Sestio*). The elder Sestius was a Pompeian for the first year of the Civil War, then he went over to Caesar. The younger Sestius, who showed greater steadfastness—and eventually profited by it—is the Sestius to whom Horace addressed the fourth of his first book of *Carmina*. From Horace's verses it appears that Sestius was by no means devoid of capacity for the enjoyment of forbidden fruit.

ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον = "writing poems in his praise" or (with more attention to the middle voice) "occupying himself in the composition of poems in his praise". The use of the middle, ποιούμενον, suggests that Sestius wrote these eulogies of Brutus to please or solace himself, and confined them to "private circulation".

ἐρίμῃσε. Contrast the case of Cremutius Cordus, under Augustus' successor, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34-35. The speech of Cordus, reported by Tacitus, contains other instances of toleration shown by Augustus towards admirers of the men who had been foremost in opposition and hostility towards himself and the elder Caesar.

§ 5. *δήμαρχον διὰ βίου*. The Senate adopted a motion expressing the opinion that Caesar Augustus should hold and exercise "tribunicia potestas" for life. Cf. ch. 17 §§ 9-10 and notes. Dio ought not to have written *δήμαρχον διὰ βίου εἶναι*, for (as he himself points out in ch. 17 § 10) the Princeps, being a patrician, could not be a "tribunus plebis". What the Senate agreed to was *τὸν Αὐγουστὸν δημαρχικὴν διὰ βίου ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν*. The numbering of the years of "tribunicia potestas" begins from this date, Mon. Ancyrr. IV: *ὑπάτεον τρις καὶ δέκατον, ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραφον, καὶ ἡμῖν τριακοστὸν καὶ ἑβδόμον δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας*, inscription on an arch at Pavia (Ticinum): TRIBUNIC. POTEST. XXX (i.e. A.D. 7.); above, ch. 17 § 10: *τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαριθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν αἰὲς δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει*. It is to this investiture with "tribunicia potestas" (the third, according to Dio, the two previous investitures taking place U.C. 718 and 724) that the statement in Tac. *Ann.* III. 56 properly refers: *id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit*, etc. Mon. Ancyrr. VI: *ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Οὐίνουκίῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ [U.C. 735] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοις [U.C. 736] καὶ τρίτῳ Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Τουβέρωνι [U.C. 743] τῆς τε συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογούντων ἵνα ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ χειροτονηθῶι, ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ διδομένην ἀνεδεξάμην. ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα. καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου πεντάκις αἰτήσας ἔλαβον*. The *οἰκονομαίαι* referred to are (principally at any rate) the *lectiones Senatus* of U.C. 735 and 743 (Dio 54. 11 and 35) and the *leges Iuliae de adulteriis, de pudicitia, and de maritandis ordinibus* (Shuckburgh's note on Sueton. *Aug.* 34 *leges . . . sanxit*). Dio, Bk. 54. ch. 10, asserts that (in U.C. 735) Augustus *ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἔχειροτονήθη* (riots in Rome had shown that there was room for improvement of behaviour) *καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν . . .* So far as regards the ἐπιμέλεια τρόπων and the "censoria potestas", Dio's statement is in conflict with Augustus' own testimony in Mon. Ancyrr. VI (quoted above) and VIII (where Augustus affirms that he held *lustra* in U.C. 746 = 8 B.C. and A.D. 14 "consulari cum imperio"). Augustus' colleagues in exercise of

"tribunicia potestas" were (1) Agrippa, U.C. 736-741 and 741-2 (Dio 54. 12 and 38), (2) Tiberius, U.C. 748-752, A.D. 4-13 and again A.D. 13-14 (Dio 55. 9 and 13, 56. 28). See notes on ch. 17. l. c.

χρηματίζειν . . . ἔδωκε. The Senate conferred *ius relationis* upon the Princeps, authorizing him to introduce any subject he desired at any meeting of the Order, and getting a *Senatus consultum* upon the question. References are found in the "Scriptores Historiae Augustae" to *ius tertiae, quartae, or quintae relationis*, i.e. the right of bringing three, four, or five questions before any meeting of the Senate (Iul. Capitolinus *M. Antoninus*. c. 6, *Pertinax*. c. 5; Aelius Lampridius *Alex. Severus* c. 1; Flavius Vopiscus *Probus*. c. 12). The *ius relationis*, even when it extended to one *relatio* only, maintained the Princeps' control over the Senate. It was not entirely superfluous. *Relatio* was the function of the presiding magistrate, originally the king, afterwards the consuls. In the years of his consulates, Augustus had possessed this right *ex officio*. But he had now abdicated the consulate. It was requisite that he should retain that control over proceedings in the Senate which he had hitherto held, and therefore the *ius relationis* was conferred upon, or rather restored to him, καὶ μὴ ὑπατεύοντι. Whenever he should think fit to get himself elected consul, he would once more possess and exercise *ius relationis* in the ordinary course. This bestowal (or restoration) of *ius relationis* was probably proposed at the instigation of Augustus himself, or at least in accordance with his known desire. It was a natural sequel that in 735 U.C. = 19 B.C. he obtained consular power and authority for life, Dio 54. 10: τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων (ἐξουσίαν) διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, though the immediate occasion of that measure was the faction-fighting which broke out in Rome at the beginning of the year over the election of a colleague for C. Sentius, this honour having been declined by Augustus—Dio l. c.: ὑπάτευσεν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ Γαῖος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάροντα αὐτῷ προσαποδειχθῆναι ἔδει, ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο, στάσις τε αὐθις ἐν τῇ Πρώμῃ συνηρέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μὴ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρῆσασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο ραβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἐπεμψαν. Augustus then nominated Q. Lucretius and hastened to Rome, whither indeed he was already returning from the East. The life-tenure of consular authority and command then conferred upon him was (likely enough) voted at his suggestion. It was only the completion of what had already been done in giving him the right of making a *relatio* in every meeting of the Senate. Its requisiteness might be argued from the riots which had broken out over a consular election, and from the need of restoring the prestige of the con-

suls and the consular office. Augustus, when he nominated Q. Lucretius, had proconsular authority, but not consular. Republican precedent showed that a *consul* was the proper person to nominate a consul. The occasion made it clear that the Princeps ought to have *consular* authority, for the purpose of dealing in proper form with affairs and emergencies arising within the *pomerium*.

τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον κ.τ.λ. This brought about an anomaly. According to Republican practice and precedent, a consul might act either in Rome or in a province abroad, though after the Sullan reforms the rule was that consuls remained in the capital. But a proconsul was a substitute for a consul, and the proconsulate was never contemplated as an office that could be held in Rome, while after the rule of Sulla the Empire outside Italy had become its proper sphere. It had come to be accounted of as a form of authority intended for the government of countries outside Italy. The anomaly lasted till 19 B.C., when the Senate voted for the conferment of consular power and authority upon Augustus for life (see the last note).

καθάπαξ. Cf. ch. 16 § 3.

ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου. Republican practice had prohibited the exercise of *imperium* in its military aspect within the *pomerium*, even by the consuls. *Imperium proconsulare* always had this military aspect, and therefore was out of place within the sacred enclosure of the city. If reduced there to *iurisdictio*, it was assimilated to the consular authority as exercised within that precinct, and then the *iurisdictio* of one holding a proconsular position was set up beside, not to say against, that of the consuls. Possibly Augustus thought that after the abdication of the consulate, he could retain consular prerogative under the title of *imperium proconsulare*. In actual practice, the anomaly may not have caused any real inconvenience. But it was open to criticism, and Augustus was always desirous to square his position and powers as exactly as possible with "mos et instituta maiorum".

ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ, i.e. gave him *maius imperium* over every proconsul and *legatus pro praetore*. In the Mon. Ancy. c. xxxiv, Augustus asserts that after the "settlement" of U.C. 727 "praestiti omnibus dignitate, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae". So far as the propraetorian legates of the "provinciae Caesaris" were concerned, there is no discrepancy. They were deputies of the Princeps, and therefore subordinate to him. But the case of the proconsuls of "provinciae Populi" does seem to prove a discrepancy between Augustus' statement and Dio's record.

§ 6. ἂφ' οὗ δη κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 17 § 10.

ch. 33. § 1. ὡς ἐλευθέροις. Cf. ch. 21 § 3: προετρέπετό τι γὰρ πᾶνθ' ὄντινον συμβουλευεῖν οἱ, εἴ τίς τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσῃ, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέγραφε. He had also a "select committee" of the Senate, for the purpose of preliminary consideration of questions to be referred to the whole house (ch. 21 §§ 4-5). Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 53: Die Senatus numquam Patres nisi in Curia salutavit et quidem sedentis, ac nominatim singulos nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo valere dicebat. In this, his behaviour stood in strong contrast with that of the elder Caesar, who had allowed the Senate to rise from their seats when he entered the Curia, and on one occasion had received them sitting, whereby he stirred up "inexpiabilem invidiam" against himself (Suet. *Iulius* 78; Plutarch *Caesar* 66).

ὁ Τιριδάτης. Dio, Bk. 51, ch. 18: after settling affairs in Egypt, Octavian proceeded to Asia and there spent the winter of U.C. 724-725=30-29 B.C., τὰ τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἅμα καθιστάμενος. An insurrection against Phraates, the Parthian king, had been led by one Tiridates (U.C. 723), who was defeated and compelled to seek refuge in Syria (U.C. 724). Phraates sent ambassadors (to demand the surrender of Tiridates, who had carried off one of Phraates' sons with him in his flight), but got no satisfaction beyond what lay in fair words. Tiridates was allowed to remain in Syria, but Augustus would not undertake to give him any assistance in his designs against Phraates, whose son was sent to Rome and detained there in honourable captivity as a hostage. Dio does not state what happened in the interval, U.C. 724-731, to bring Tiridates to Rome. Justin (Bk. 42. c. 5) speaks of Tiridates as betaking himself to Augustus while the latter was in Spain (U.C. 729=25 B.C.). The immediate occasion of the Parthian embassy of U.C. 731 was doubtless some attempt of Tiridates to rekindle the flames of civil war in the Parthian Empire. Besides, there was the Parthian prince to be delivered from captivity, even though that captivity was such as a prince might endure without discomfort. Augustus speaks of Tiridates as a "king of the Parthians", Mon. Ancyr. c. XXXII; πρὸς ἐμὲ ἰκέται κατέφυγον βασιλεῖς Πάρθων μὲν Τειριδάτης καὶ μετέπειτα Φραάτης βασιλέως Φράτου υἱός.

ἐς τὴν βουλὴν. Cf. ch. 21, § 6: ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν. The Senate alone, under the old Republic, had received and negotiated with foreign ambassadors. In this respect there was a strong contrast between Rome and Athens, foreign ambassadors being brought before the Athenian ἐκκλησία as well as before the βουλὴ (e.g. Thucyd. I. 34, IV. 16, VI.

15). Yet Greek writers apply the term δημοκρατία to the Roman as well as to the Athenian polity.

§ 2. ἐπιτραπείς. δηλ. κατὰ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου, Senatus consulto. τὴν διάγνωσιν = "disquisitionem" (cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 60). *Postulata Tiridatis atque Parthorum ad disquisitionem Caesaris misit Senatus.*

τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Bk. 51, ch. 18 (U.C. 724): υἱὸν τε τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Τιριδάτου) λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρεῖα ἐποιήσατο.

ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς τε αἰχμαλώτους κ.τ.λ. The captives and standards taken from the armies of Crassus U.C. 701 and Antony U.C. 718. There were also captives and standards taken by the Parthians when they invaded the Roman Empire, U.C. 714 and 716 (B.C. 40 and 38). The actual surrender of captives and standards, however, was delayed for three years, until U.C. 734 = 20 B.C., when Augustus in the course of a visitation of the Eastern provinces came to Antioch, and the Parthian king had begun to fear that an invasion of his dominions was to be expected. See Dio 54. 8: *κάν τούτω* (i.e. while Augustus was in Syria) *ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὥς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκῶς ἔλαβε. καὶ γὰρ ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκοντιῖ ἐκεκόμιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἄρεος Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλῃτος (= ovans) ἔς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψίδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.* The temple of Mars Ultor was not in the Capitol, as Dio ought to have remembered, and its original purpose was the commemoration of the vengeance taken upon the chief of Caesar's murderers in the battle of Philippi. However, its association with the thought of redress made it a fitting repository for the standards which the Parthian, in fear of a Roman invasion, had surrendered. Cf. Horace *Carm.* IV. xv. 4-8: *Tua, Caesar, aetas . . . signa nostro restituit Iovi derepta Parthorum superbis postibus*; Virgil *Aen.* VII. 606: *Parthosque reposcere signa*; Mon. Ancy. c. XXIX: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam Populi Romani petere coegi.* The three armies were those of Crassus, and of Antony's legates Decidius Saxa (crushed by the Parthians in Syria, U.C. 714, cf. Horace *Carm.* III. vi. 9-10) and Oppius Statianus (attacked and routed by the Medes and Parthians in Media, U.C. 718). See Plutarch's lives of Crassus and Antony.

§ 3. ἀγορανόμον τῶν καταδεεστέρων = "one of the plebeian aediles".

προηγور. ἐν τοῖς ἀμείν, "although he had held the office of curule aedile". The institution of the curule aedileship is recorded in Livy VI. 42 (ad calc.). Originally, the curule aedileship was accessible to patricians only, but after a time it was open to patricians and plebeians alternately, and later on again to members of both orders indifferently (Livy. VII. 1). The curule aedileship was more dignified and had more prestige than the plebeian, inasmuch as the holders had *sellae curules*, like consuls, censors, and praetors, wore the *toga praetexta*, and enjoyed the *ius imaginum*. The fact that one who had formerly been curule aedile was willing to succeed to the place left vacant by the death of a plebeian aedile shows that the prestige of the curule aedileship had waned. In A.D. 5, there being no candidates for any aedileship, ἡναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμεινκώτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκώτων κλήρω τινες αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι (δηλ. ἀγορανομήσαι), καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο (Dio 55. 24). The office had become of so little account that men had to be compelled to take it.

ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς, the Feriae Latinae (cf. note on ch. 32 § 3 ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθών), during which the consuls left the city in order to be present at the solemnities of Iuppiter Latiaris, celebrated upon the Alban Mount.

ἐπολιάρχησαν, "were prefects of the city". Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 11 for a summary of the history of the urban prefecture.

οὐδὲ ἐς μεираκίον πω τελῶν. He was below the earliest age at which a Roman could be enlisted for military service or registered as a member of a century in the Comitia Centuriata (seventeen years). Cf. Tacitus. l. c. "durat simulacrum".

§ 4. αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν. Similarly, Livia was suspected of having procured the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (A.D. 4 and A.D. 2, Dio 55. 11). Suspicion was once more stirred up against her, when Augustus fell sick in the summer of A.D. 14 (Tac. *Ann.* I. 5). Caligula called her "stolatus Ulixes", and no doubt she was πολύμητις in furthering the interests of Tiberius and Drusus. But there is no known evidence to support the charges that were brought against her of having procured the removal of Marcellus, Gaius, and Lucius by poison.

§ 5. προσσημαίνεισθαι. Dio, like Livy, retails "prodigia". Cf. for example Bk. 54. ch. 1: τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει . . . ἥ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αἰθῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κερανοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν. This was not the universal practice of historians. "Non sum nescius" writes Livy in Bk. XLIII. 14, "ab

eadem neglegentia, qua nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nunciari admodum nulla prodigia in publicum, neque in annales referri. Ceterum et mihi, vetustas res scribenti, nescio quo pacto, antiquus fit animus; et quaedam religio tenet, quae illi prudentissimi viri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro dignis habere, quae in meos annales referam". Tacitus professes complete scepticism in relation to such things (*Ann.* vi. 22).

τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην = "Pontem Sublicium".

πλωτὴν ἐποίησε. Cf. ἐπλεύσθη in the quotation given above from Bk. 54, ch. 1. For the time being, the inundation turned the streets in the low-lying parts of the city into canals. Proposals for dealing with "Tiberis exundationes" came before the Senate, along with protests against them from the *municipia* concerned, in A.D. 15 (*Tac. Ann.* i. 79).

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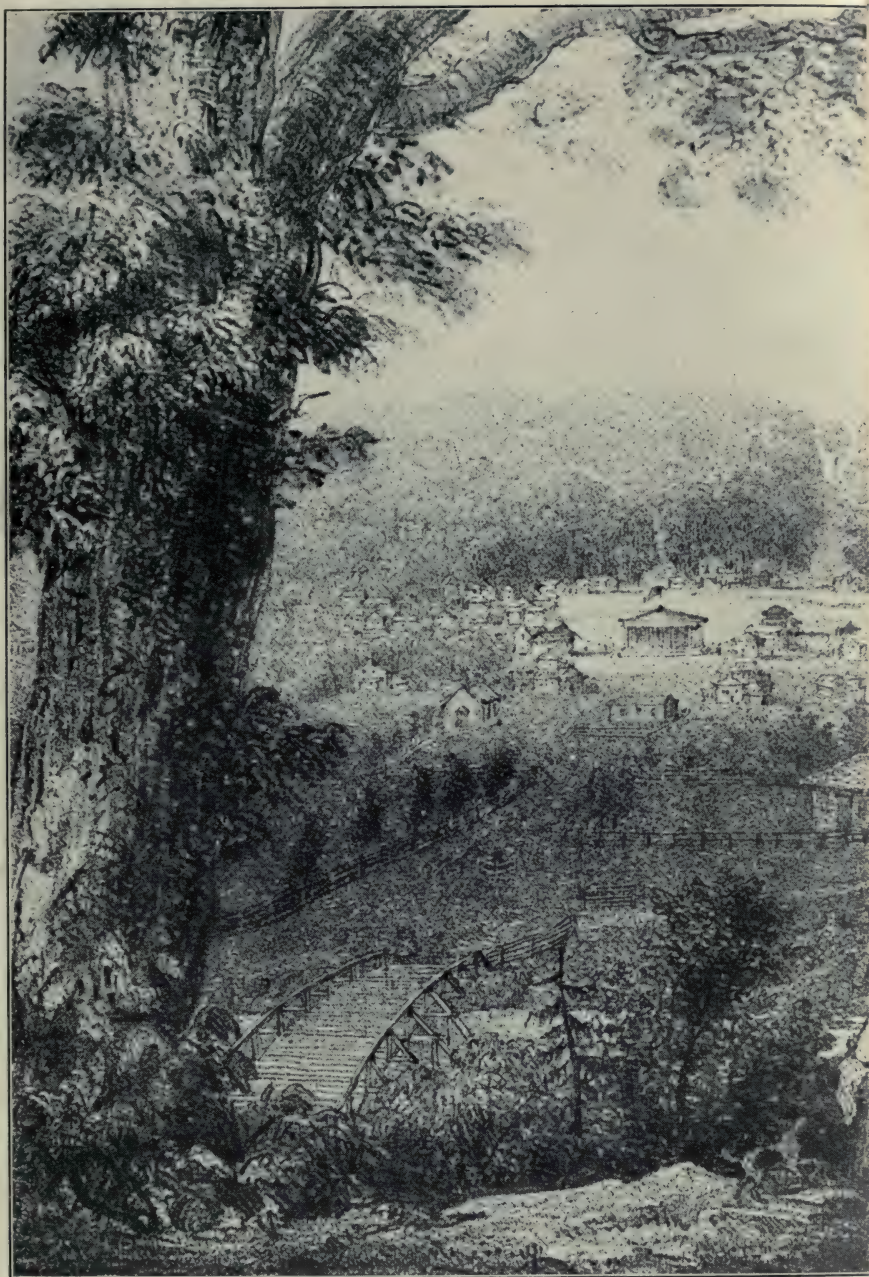
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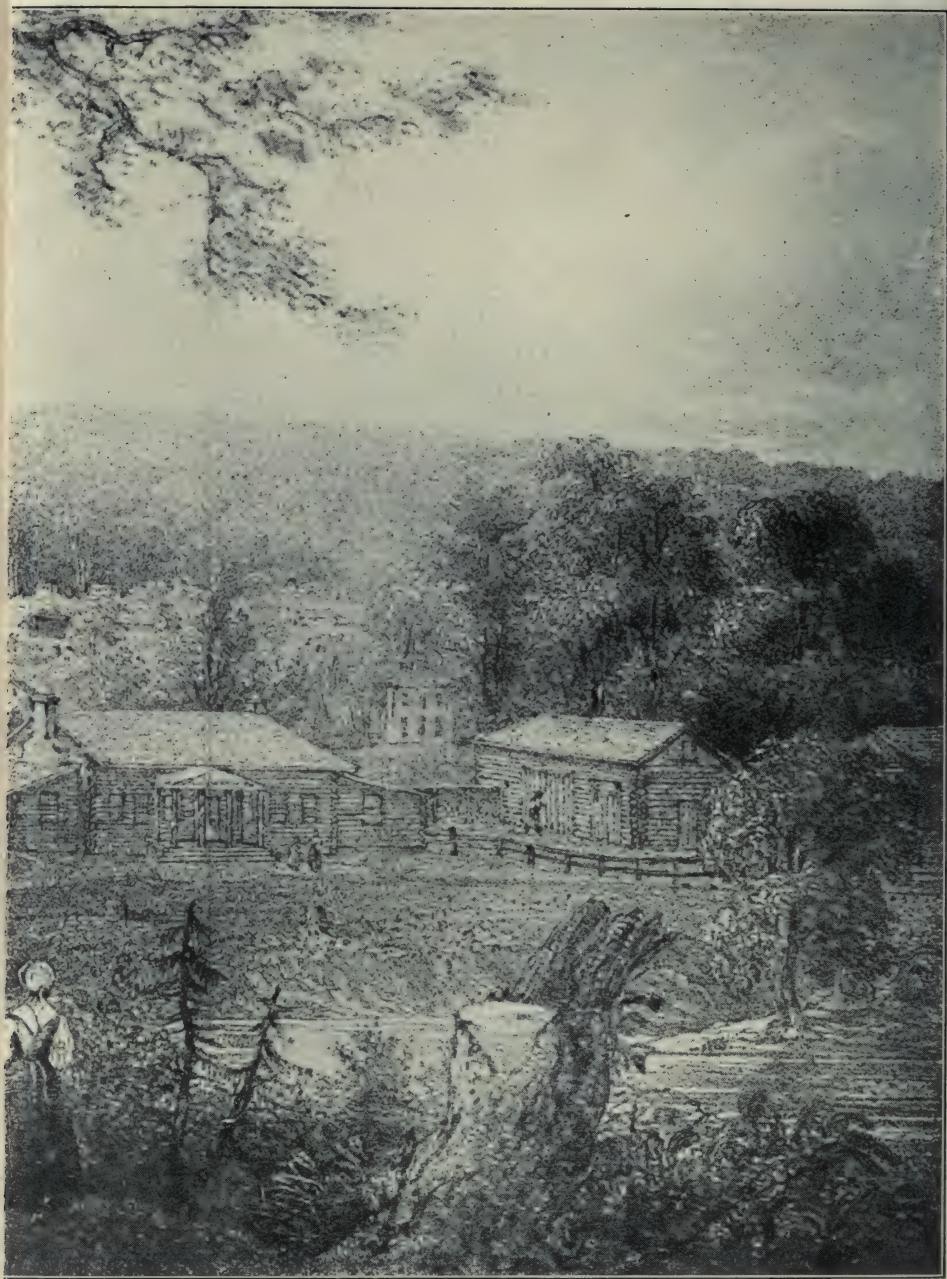
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VIEW
(From *Fraser's M*)



OF GUELPH
(*Magazine*, November 1830)

JOHN GALT

BY

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Philology.

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To my Father

PREFACE

In writing this little book I have received help from many sources. Through the kindness of Professor W. J. Alexander I was enabled to spend a year in Toronto and avail myself of the libraries there. I am indebted to Dr. Alexander Fraser for allowing me to examine a box of Galt's papers in the Ontario Archives; to Mrs. Helmer, of Toronto, for help of various kinds in matter relating to her grandfather's family; to Mr. Justice Galt, of Winnipeg, for the loan of letters; to George Galt, Esq., of Winnipeg, for the loan of books; to Professor A. H. Young, of Trinity College, for many valuable hints; to William Smith, Esq., for helpful guidance among the Archives at Ottawa; to Professor O. D. Skelton, of Queen's University, for lending me the MS. of part of his book on Sir Alexander Galt; and to R. M. Hogg, Esq., of Irvine, and Herbert Henderson, Esq., of Greenock, for their trouble in clearing up many points.

R. K. G.

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View of Guelph (from <i>Fraser's Magazine</i> , Nov., 1830)	Frontispiece
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ERRATA

Pp. 18 and 19, for "Kirkman, Finlay & Co." read "Kirkman Finlay & Co."

P. 30, 4 lines from bottom, for "Mr." read "Mrs."

P. 33, 6 lines from bottom, for "to" read "of."

P. 37, line 3, for "*Lelix Holt*" read "*Felix Holt*."

P. 42, 6 lines from bottom, for "burghs" read "burgh."

P. 45, note 1, delete "(1849)."

6



CHAPTER I

LIFE (1779-1820)

John Galt was born on May 2, 1779, in Irvine, Ayrshire, at that time a town of about 4,000 inhabitants.¹ His parents lived in High Street in an old-fashioned house long since replaced by the Union Bank. A stone's throw away lived David Sillar, Burns' "Dainty Davie", and across the road was Dr. MacKenzie, one of Burns' warmest friends.

The Galts had been settled in the district as early as the seventeenth century. Tradition said they had come from Perthshire. Some of them had suffered in the religious persecutions, and two ancestors had been banished to the Southern States in 1684. Their descendants still live in Virginia.²

Galt's Scottish reserve allows us slight but pleasant glimpses of his parents. His father, John Galt, born in 1750, married in 1776 and had three children, John, Thomas, and Agnes. He was the Captain of a West Indiaman and was no doubt responsible for his son's later interest in West Indian matters.³ Of easy-going nature, moderate ability, and often away from home, he seems to have influenced his son very little. From him Galt inherited his good looks and striking figure. Mrs. Galt was a more strongly marked character, possessed of shrewd common sense, a taste for satire and a

¹A description of Irvine was contributed by Rev. James Richmond, the parish minister, to Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. 7, pp. 169, 171).

²*Archaeological and Historical Collections Relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown* (vols. 4, 7 and 8). Some of Galt's ancestors are buried in Dreghorn Churchyard, a couple of miles from Irvine (*Autobiog.* II., 228)—John Galt, cooper (d. 1719); his wife Marion Crawford (d. 1701); their children Robert William, William Hugh, Jean, Grizal and Alexander (d. 1753); James Galt, cooper (d. 1778). It is probable that Alexander Galt (d. 1753) was Galt's grandfather. For the Virginian Galts see an article *The Galt Family of Williamsburg*, contributed by Miss Mary M. Galt to the *William and Mary College Quarterly* (April, 1900.)

³"The young men, in general, are sailors, or go abroad to the West Indies and America as store-keepers and planters." *Statist. Acct. of Scot.* (vol. 7, p. 172). The dates of his father's birth and marriage are from the Irvine Session Records.

mastery of the vernacular which was transmitted to both her sons. Galt learned from her what Carlyle learned from his peasant father. The prudent, observant Mrs. Pringle of *The Ayrshire Legatees* was drawn from her, and doubtless she also served as model to some extent for all those stirring, thorough-handed women with sharp tongues and kindly hearts whom Galt delighted to portray.

Galt was a sickly child; a sort of "all-overishness"—a favourite word of his—weighed upon him. He could not hold his own in games or studies with the other grammar school boys.¹ He seems to have learned little enough either from the excellent dominie or from his private tutor. The best part of his education was got outside the class-room. Lounging on his bed, much to his energetic mother's annoyance, he devoured ballads and story-books—Chevy Chase, Blind Harry², Leper the Tailor. He also heard tales and legends from a number of old women in the close behind his grandmother's house. At his grandmother's hearth he heard stories of the smuggling days at the Troon and much else which he later used in the *Annals of the Parish*. Gardening was another resource for the delicate boy. He liked also to wander among the whin and broom of the commonly northwest of the town and in the woods surrounding Eglinton Castle within a mile of Irvine.

One curious incident of his boyhood is worth telling. In 1782 a Mrs. Elspat Buchan arrived in Irvine. She had heard Mr. White, the Relief Minister of Irvine, preach in Glasgow and declared he was the first who had spoken effectually to her sinful heart. She had now come to be further confirmed in

¹Part of the old grammar school, founded in pre-Reformation days, still stands. Henry Eckford (1775-1832), afterwards famous as a naval architect in America, was one of Galt's schoolfellows. Edgar Allan Poe was there for a short time, probably in 1815 or 1816. John Allan, Poe's foster-father, was a native of Irvine and a nephew of William Galt of Richmond, Virginia. The school may have supplied some details to the sketch in Poe's tale *William Wilson*. (See *Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. J. H. Whitty, 1917.) Some information about Galt's school days was supplied by G. J. Weir and Alexander Rodger to Miss Harriet Pigott who contemplated writing a life of Galt. This material forms a MS. volume now in The Bodleian and entitled *Memoirs of John Galt*.

²Galt wrote two poems on Wallace—one is printed in *The Bachelor's Wife*, the other is among his papers and was apparently not published.

the faith. She made house to house visitations, expounded the Scriptures, and gave out that she was the woman spoken of in Revelation (ch. XII) and that Mr. White was the man-child she had brought forth. This was too much for Mr. White's orthodox congregation, and he was dismissed. In May, 1784, Mrs. Buchan was banished from Irvine as a blasphemer. Forty or fifty of her followers accompanied her singing psalms and shouting that they were on the way to the New Jerusalem, the route to which seems to have lain through Kilmarnock and Mauchline. "I with many other children also accompanied her," says Galt, "but my mother in a state of distraction pursued and drew me back by the lug and the horn." The wild enthusiastic singing rose in his memory when describing the Covenanters in *Ringan Gilhaize*.¹

Galt was taken every year to spend some time at Greenock. It was on one of these jaunts in 1785 or 1786 that he "was first sensible of the influence of the Muses." On leaving Irvine he had been given two young larks, and on the journey he wrote a ballad on their birth, parentage, and intended education. The poem has not been saved, nor, says Galt, "have I any recollection of again intromitting, as the Scottish lawyers say, with the Muses for several years." These journeys made Galt familiar with scenes and places which afterwards appear in his books—Ardrossan, the ruins of Southennan, the battlefield of Largs, the pretty village of Inverkip.²

When Galt was about ten the family moved to Greenock where his father had built a new house at the north-west corner of West Blackhall Street and West Burn Street. The fourteen or fifteen years spent here left their mark on Galt and on his work. He is indeed sometimes spoken of as a

¹*Autobiog.* I., 6-7. The garden of the house where the Buchanites held their meetings bordered on the Galt garden. Burns has an interesting letter (Mossgiel, Aug. 3, 1784), on the Buchanites, with most of whom he was personally acquainted. They finally settled at Closeburn, Dumfriesshire; and after Mrs. Buchan's death (1791) the camp gradually disappeared. Meg Dods refers contemptuously to Mrs. Buchan (*St. Ronan's Well*, ch. 2.)

²See, for example, Miss Pringle's description of the journey (*Ayr. Leg.*, ch. 1.)

Greenock man. Carlyle found in him the air of a sedate Greenock burgher and called him "a broad gawsie Greenock man." Mrs. Thomson spoke of his Greenock accent. The town had always a place in his "indelible local memory," and for the people he always felt a half humorous affection. They had, he said, a conceit of themselves above others of the human race—a weakness with which Galt could readily sympathize. The humours of Clydeside life delighted him and were faithfully portrayed years afterwards in *The Steamboat*.

At Greenock, though he was "a long soople laddie, who, like all bairns that grow fast and tall, had but little smeddum"¹, he began to shake off his soft ailing disposition. He continued his schooling, but won no distinction.² "He could not be called a dolt, for he was observant and thoughtful, and given to asking sagacious questions; but there was a sleepiness about him, especially in the kirk, and he gave, as the master said, but little application to his lessons, so that folk thought he would turn out a sort of gaunt-at-the-door, more mindful of meat than work."

Two of his schools friends had considerable influence upon him and were always mentioned by him with generous praise. William Spence attracted him by the extent of his general information and by his scientific interests. Park, whom he considered the most accomplished person he ever knew, not excepting Byron, was his literary guide. Some of the scientific amusements were rather risky. A brass cannon constructed by Spence was tested in the Galt kitchen, Mrs. Galt being absent. Fortunately nothing more than a crackle resulted.³ Spence's mechanical ingenuity also turned Galt to

¹This and the following quotation are from *Annals of the Parish*, c. XLII. It is quite clear from the context that Galt himself is meant.

²Galt went to two schools in Greenock. One was in the Royal Close and conducted by Colin Lamont who died in 1851 at the age of 97. (See George Williamson's *Old Greenock*, 2nd series, p. 182); the other was conducted by one McGregor. It was at the second he met Park and Spence.

³Galt's *Life of Spence*, prefixed to Spence's mathematical essay on Logarithmic Transcendents, and also printed in the *Monthly Magazine* (May, 1819). There is a monument to Spence in the Mid Parish Church, Greenock.

less dangerous hobbies. He tried to make a hurdy-gurdy, contrived an Edephusicon (whatever that may be) and an Eolian harp. This last instrument, however, so distressed Mrs. Galt that he was forced to give it away. Inspired by the example of Spence, who "made beautiful sonatas which had as much character as the compositions of Frederick the Great," Galt took up flute-playing. He considered himself rather effective in the overture to Artaxerxes, "and there was a beautiful movement of Jomelli in which I thought myself divine." One of his compositions, Loch-na-gar, when set to Byron's words attained street-organ popularity.

Galt threw himself with equal enthusiasm into literature. After reading Pope's Iliad he kneeled by his bed and prayed that he might produce something like it himself. The first result of this ardour was a rebus on a lime-kiln. Park and he exchanged birthday odes, and wrote poems and articles for newspapers and periodicals. Galt even tried his hand at drama.¹ He naturally began with tragedy—*The Royal Victim*. Another attempt, *The Confessor*, was inspired by Mrs. Radcliffe's *Italian*. A farce, *Lingo's Wedding*, was only kept off the Greenock stage by fear of Mrs. Galt's wrath. His reading was as miscellaneous as his writing. A well chosen library in the town gave him larger opportunities than he had enjoyed at Irvine.² Further chances for writing and discussion were supplied by a monthly society started at Spence's suggestion. His own essays, he confessed, were "the most shocking affairs that ever issued from a pen." It was perhaps at a meeting of this society that he met Hogg who passed through Greenock in the early summer of 1804 on his way to the Hebrides. Galt, according to the Shepherd, was a tall thin youth, resplendent in frock coat and new top-boots, and an emphatic amusing speaker.³

¹Weir, his Irvine schoofellow, says: "Mr. Galt at 14 was writing plays and sending his productions to John Kemble and corresponding with him, who always returned the like answers, adding that his productions only required to be well revised when they might be acted."

²There are two portraits of Galt in the library and one of Spence.

³Hogg's reminiscences of Galt and others are contained in his *Poetical Works*, vol. 5.

During the French Revolution when party spirit was running high the library committee decided to purge the shelves of tainted authors such as Holcroft and Godwin. Such action seemed to Galt and his friends "an unheard-of proceeding in a Protestant land." His wrath was "inflamed prodigiously," and he christened the librarian "the Kaliph Omer."¹ At the next annual meeting for nominating the committee the insurgent youth carried the day; the heretical books were replaced on the shelves and increased in number.

This rebellion was, however, no indication of democratic principles. When war was renewed in 1803 Galt helped to raise two companies of sharpshooters or riflemen, "the first of the kind raised in the volunteer force of the kingdom." Their offer of service was at first rejected, but at Galt's suggestion resolutions were sent to London declaring that, their offer not being accepted, they considered themselves as having the authority of government to believe and represent that there was no danger of invasion. This brought matters to a head; the ardent volunteers were accepted.²

His energy also found vent in walking tours in company with Park and others.³ Memories of an expedition to Loch Lomond may be detected in several scenes in *The Spaewife*. The most ambitious and the last of these jaunts was to the border country, soon to be made famous by Scott. At Durham Galt first saw Mrs. Siddons. Her interpretation of Lady Macbeth made a lasting impression.⁴

Probably, however, Galt took more pleasure in lonely rambles by a moorland stream above the town. A half-hearted angler, he spent most of his time in day-dreams which show to what projects his mind already turned. Many of the undertakings which were to transform Glasgow and the Clyde had already been set on foot. Dredging had changed the river

¹The Librarian was John Dunlop, grandfather of "Tiger" Dunlop, who was with Galt in Canada.

²This incident is used in *The Provost*.

³See a poem by Park—*Reflections on a Sunday Morning's Walk* (*Scots Magazine*, Feb., 1804.)

⁴See *Lives of the Players*. In Galt's English prose there are an extraordinary number of quotations more or less literal from Macbeth.

from a pleasant salmon stream to a great commercial highway. No wonder a youth like Galt with his large ambitions should brood on schemes of improvement and development. The trout stream set him pondering on how Greenock might be supplied with water. To the end of his life he cherished a plan for improving the Greenock harbour, and also planned a canal to join Loch Lomond and Loch Long. He was, however, no mere visionary. His scheme for Greenock's water-supply was afterwards carried out, and the idea of the canal has recently been revived. "In contriving schemes such as these my youth was spent, but they were all of too grand a calibre to obtain any attention, and I doubt if there yet be any one among my contemporaries capable of appreciating their importance."¹ The boy was father of the man. As superintendent of the Canada Company Galt showed the same commercial imagination, met with the same neglect, and felt the same indignation.

There was little chance of Galt's ambitions being satisfied in Greenock. The commercial projects of a clerk in the Customs House, where he had been sent on leaving school, were not likely to be taken seriously. Nor could he find among the bustling complacent people of Greenock much sympathy for his belief that "literature was the first of human pursuits." His father was not wealthy. It became clear to Galt that he must win his own way and also that Greenock was too limited an arena for his powers. Galt never underrated his own capacity.

The immediate cause of his departure was typical of his impulsive nature. "The first revolutionary war," he declared, "had contributed to form in Glasgow a number of purse-proud men, who neither had the education nor the feelings of gentlemen." One of these persons wrote an abusive letter to Miller & Co., into whose employ Galt had passed from the Customs House. Galt took it on himself to demand an apology. He chased the culprit from Glasgow to Edinburgh and forced him to admit his guilt. On the man making excuses for his lan-

¹*Autobiog.* I., p. 20-22.

guage, Galt bolted the door and gave him ten minutes to write an apology. When this was done Galt departed in a state of high excitement and self-approval. Why this adventure should have determined him to quit Greenock is not very clear; it probably increased his confidence.

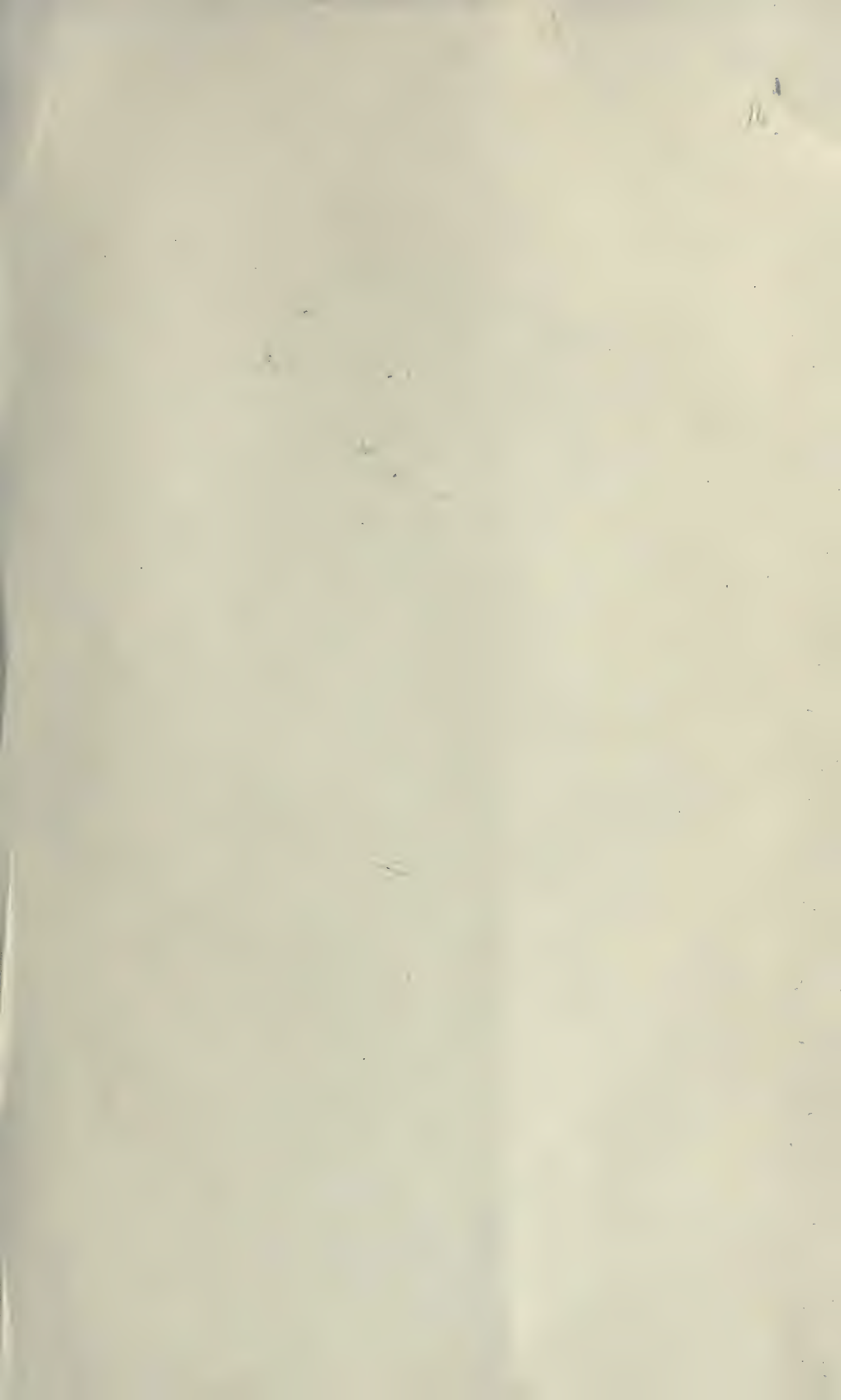
Galt set out for London with his father probably in May or June, 1804. Among his baggage was an epic poem, *The Battle of Largs*. He had also a bundle of letters of introduction, but these brought him nothing except a few dinner invitations.¹ Left to shift for himself on his father's departure, Galt spent six months in sight-seeing, theatre-going and reading. He and Park exchanged poems and advice. Their letters were, according to Galt, "perhaps the finest specimens extant of communications not intended for the public eye." This pronouncement must be taken on faith as regards Galt's share in the correspondence, for only a few scraps have been preserved. They reflect his loneliness and his scorn for ordinary unexciting tasks. "I beseech you," writes Park, "check all dispositions to grow romantic and endeavour to get rich as soon as possible." Galt's answer to this advice was to publish his epic.² In the end he decided to suppress his book, though he was always proud that it had preceded *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. About the same time he formed a partnership with a fellow-Scot, M'Lachlan. What the business was does not appear, but for a while it seems to have prospered.³ The attempt to be author and man of affairs at the same time is characteristic of Galt.

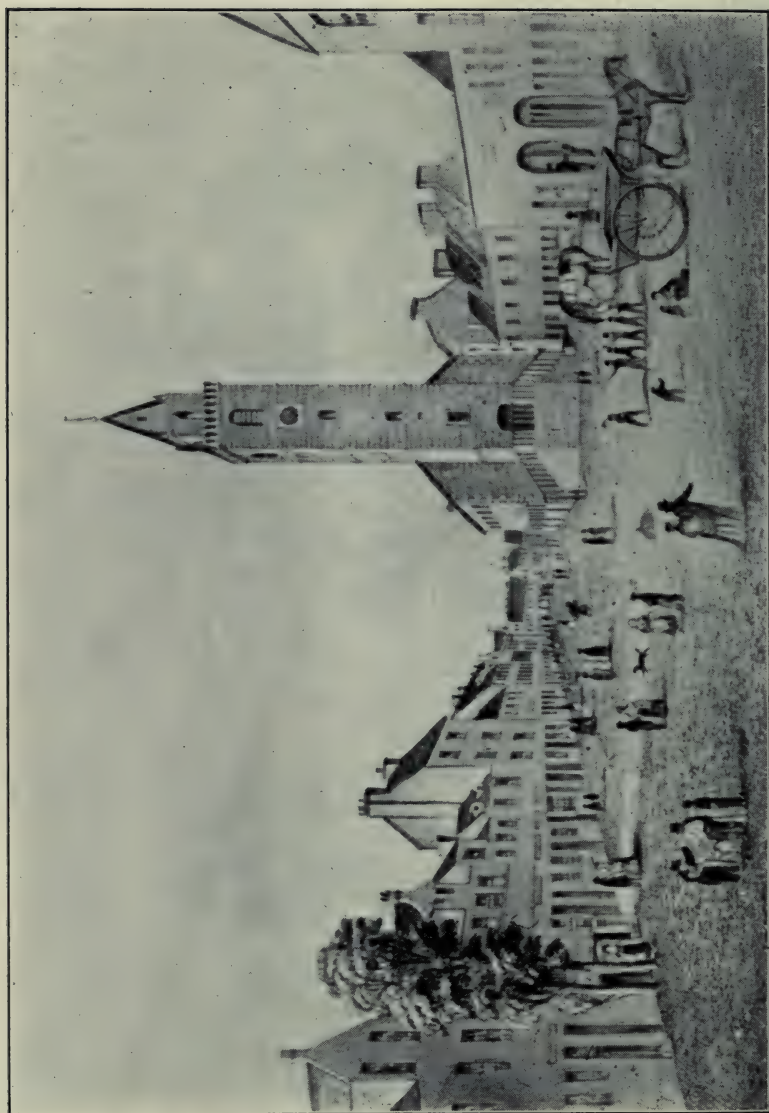
In London as in Greenock Galt scattered his energy. He dabbled in astrology, alchemy, heraldry; he drew up a theory

¹It is a good illustration of Galt's barrenness of invention and of his reliance on his own experience for literary material that the incident of the letters appears in three of his books: *The Stolen Child*, *Bogle Corbet*, and *My Landlady and her Lodgers*.

²*The Battle of Largs: a Gothic Poem. With several miscellaneous pieces.* Galt was needlessly alarmed lest Jeffrey should criticise his book. It was briefly noticed in the *Monthly Review* (Feb., 1805), and in the *Critical Review* (July, 1805).

³Weir says, "He went to London and associating a young man from Port Glasgow with him, he set up a house there for advancing money and doing the business of those merchants who had money to pay or other business to transact in London."





VIEW OF IRVINE IN GALT'S DAY

of crimes and punishments, and discovered how to make indelible ink. He wrote for the periodicals on insurance, history of English commerce, bills of exchange, commercial policy, Upper Canada. It is not surprising that he was soon in business difficulties. In 1808 a correspondent in Scotland to whom they had heavy obligations failed. Galt hurried to Greenock, but, while he was attempting to make an arrangement with the creditors, another firm for which he and M'Lachlan were pledged had collapsed. The result was bankruptcy and a dissolution of the partnership. Many years afterwards he told the story of his failure in *Bogle Corbet*.

In spite of ill-health he tried his luck again, this time with his brother Tom for partner. Tom's departure for Honduras ended this arrangement, and he himself was ordered to Bath by the doctor. On his return he decided to study law, entered himself of Lincoln's Inn, and resolved to go abroad for rest and change. He had little to show for his five years in London. "In this period I was indefatigably industrious, but still greatly regret my misspent time, for the industry was but barren toil."¹

Galt left England in August, 1809² and was absent just over two years. In point of time his travels coincided almost exactly with those of Byron. His acquaintance with Byron was one of the few interesting results of his tour. They sailed on the same Malta packet from Gibraltar, but for several days Byron was aloof and moody. Later he joined his companions in shooting at bottles in the water and in catching turtles. They parted at Malta early in September, Galt crossing to Sicily where he spent three months. A half-hearted tourist, Galt made dull notes about palaces and churches and grudging remarks about the scenery. Statistics of trade and population were of greater interest to his practical mind.

About Christmas he crossed to Malta in an open boat, and three weeks later decided to explore the Archipelago. As yet,

¹*Autobiog.*, I., 94.

²A full account of Galt's two years in the East can be gathered from the *Autobiography, Voyages and Travels, Letters from the Levant, Life of Byron*, and a MS. Journal left among his papers.

however, he seems to have formed no definite commercial scheme. The voyage was not unexciting. They were driven out of their course by a storm, just escaped a French privateer and were fired upon by a Tripoline cruiser. The cruiser's action became clear a few days later, when Galt learned that he was on board a smuggler. He accordingly changed into a small sloop bound for Patras and went on thence to Corinth. At Tripolizza the famous Veli Pasha granted him an interview which may be compared with Byron's reception by Ali Pasha.

Here the idea first occurred to Galt of a business establishment in the East to evade the Berlin and Milan Decrees. The disordered state of Turkey would, he thought, permit English goods to be smuggled through to European markets. This scheme gave a purpose to his travels and extended their scope in the following months.

For a time, however, ill-health kept him a mere tourist. At Athens he fell in again with Byron and Hobhouse. On March 26, 1810, he set about his undertaking in earnest. The first essential was a suitable base of operations in the Archipelago. Hydra and Scio were visited and found wanting, but Myconi seemed the very place he was looking for. Having secured a large building there he left for Malta. There he learned to his astonishment that a plan similar to his own was being considered by Kirkman, Finlay & Co., of Glasgow. To them he sent details of his scheme and resolved in the meantime to extend his explorations.

In the company of a Mr. Monroe he left Malta about the beginning of August. A gale forced them to land on the island of Cerigo where they were entertained by the consul and, to Galt's great annoyance, kissed at parting. They rode north through Greece to Athens where they met Lady Hester Stanhope. Like Childe Harold Galt visited Marathon and Parnassus, "drank the vaunted rill," and essayed to sing. Salonica was now his goal, but there were various obstacles to a speedy journey. A Turkish army under Veli Pasha had taken all the good horses. On reaching Salonica in October he decided it.

would be a suitable starting-point for the overland route by which British goods were to be introduced to the Continent.

A few days later he was in Constantinople. The notes in his Journal are not very interesting. One entry describing the Sultan on his way to the mosque may be quoted. He "appeared to be about five-and-twenty, of a pale and passive countenance; his beard black and bushy, his eye dark and penetrating. In the cast of his features he bears a very striking likeness to Lord Aberdeen. He eyed us as he passed very particularly; I imagine from the circumstance of two using spectacles and one a quizzing glass." Galt has a gift for finding resemblances between Turks and Scots. A whirling figure in a penitential dance at Athens reminded him of Thomas Campbell, and an old officer at Marathonisi seemed to him like the Marquis of Huntly.

About this time his business plan seems to have taken fairly definite shape. In the vague narrative of his *Autobiography* it is not clear whether he had heard from Kirkman, Finlay & Co., or was acting on his own initiative. At all events it was arranged to send about a hundred bales of goods to Widdin to be shipped into Hungary by way of Orsova. Galt was to go ahead and make the necessary preparations. It was a thoroughly unpleasant journey. The only available lodgings were khans crowded with soldiers or wretched hovels, and his janissary proved a coward. At Sofia Veli Pasha granted him safe conduct for himself and the caravan of camels which was to follow. At Widdin he was suspected of being a spy in the employ of the Russians who were besieging the town. When this difficulty was overcome he made what business arrangements he could and returned to Constantinople. He reached London in the autumn of 1811, and at once tried to find backing for his enterprise. The intention of studying law was abandoned, a decision he later regretted when worn out by incessant book-making and commercial failures.

His hopes had been raised in Constantinople by the British ambassador, Stratford Canning, who said he was about to propose a plan of government for the Archipelago and that he

would recommend Galt to be placed at its head. But the Foreign Office had no word from Canning and was indifferent to Galt's scheme. This rebuff ended his share in the business, but his disappointment was not lessened by learning shortly afterwards that a profitable trade was being carried on by the route he had opened up.

He sat down to earn a living by literature. For two or three months he edited the *Political Review*, but the demands of a weekly paper were too constant for his patience. His two years in the East suggested a book of travels which was duly published and harshly treated by the critics.¹ Croker's sarcasm in the *Quarterly* was never forgiven by Galt, who thought that the article injured his career in Canada by misrepresenting his political principles. However that may be, it is hard to find anything to praise in Galt's book, which is an ill-arranged mass of trivial personal details, clumsy humour, commonplace remarks on antiquities, pages of statistics and arguments for a vigorous British policy in the East. While his book was in the press Galt was the guest of Dr. Tilloch, editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*. As Galt married Tilloch's daughter about a year later we may infer that his whole time was not spent in proof-reading.

Galt was proud of the industry and rhetoric displayed in his *Life of Wolsey* (1812).² The indifference and hostility of the critics were irritating. He meditated horsewhipping the sarcastic *Quarterly* reviewer if he could discover his identity. This article led to a curious meeting with the notorious Mary Ann Clarke, the ex-mistress of the Duke of York, who invited Galt to call on her, asserted that Croker was the offensive critic, and hinted that she could help Galt to his revenge. "After telling me this," says Galt, "she gave one of her know-

¹*Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811* (1812). See *Quarterly Review* (June, 1812); *Critical Review* (May, 1812); *Monthly Review* (Aug., 1813); *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1814). A livelier and less pretentious volume was *Letters from the Levant* (1813) which was favourably noticed in the *British Critic* (Jan., 1814), and in the *Monthly Review* (Oct., 1814).

²See the *Quarterly* (Sept., 1812); *Critical Review* (Dec., 1812); *Monthly Review* (April and May, 1813); *British Critic* (Dec., 1813).

ing smiles, and said she was surprised to see me so young a man and so dressed, for she understood I was an old Scotch clergyman." He declined her unsavoury offer and later satisfied himself that Croker did not write the review.

Travel and biography having failed with critics and public Galt turned dramatist. His volume of five blank verse tragedies, four of which had been written on his travels, is an extraordinary illustration of his self-confidence and his complete lack of self-criticism. Two of his plays are sordid unconvincing stories; the others, *Agamemnon*, *Clytemnestra* and *Lady Macbeth* degrade and vulgarize great themes. *Macbeth*, troubled by what he calls "metaphysical phenomenae," is taunted by his wife, who asks:

Shall we confess we kill'd the King,
And mew contrition like two silly urchins,
Sick with the surfeit of the pantry's spoil?

Of all Galt's literary disasters this was the most complete. Even Scott, usually over-generous, said the tragedies were "the worst ever seen."¹

This, however, was not the last of Galt's dramatic ventures. There was talk in London of establishing a third theatre in addition to Drury Lane and Covent Garden. The managers, it was said, rejected plays unfairly—Galt shared this opinion after one of his own tragedies had been refused by both theatres. He accordingly started a periodical, first called *The Rejected Theatre* and later renamed *The New British Theatre*,² in which mortified genius might appeal to the public. Besides being editor Galt contributed eleven dramas. The only result of the undertaking was to justify the managers. Galt explained the failure by the worthlessness of the dramas submitted to him. His own contributions are a sufficient explanation. His chief pride was in *The Witness* which, through the influence of Scott's friend William Erskine, was acted for four

¹See the *Quarterly* (April, 1814); *Critical Review* (Nov., 1812); *British Critic* (May, 1814); *Monthly Review* (March, 1814).

²*The New British Theatre* was published later in four volumes (1814-15).

nights in Edinburgh in February, 1818, under the name of *The Appeal*. Lockhart and Captain Hamilton, author of *Cyril Thornton*, supplied a prologue and Scott an epilogue. Christopher North says many people thought Coleridge the author. "There has been nothing superior to it," wrote Galt, "in the theatrical exhibitions of our time."

What kind of living Galt made by literature is not clear. For a few months in 1813 he held a business post in Gibraltar, but it came to nothing. In the same year he doubled his financial obligations by marriage. Of his wife, Miss Elizabeth Tilloch, he tells us almost nothing. Whatever her character may have been—one friend of the family hints at ill-temper and extravagance, while another bestows the highest praise—her married life was not an easy one. Her husband at first won neither fame nor money; later he was absent for two years in Canada, and finally he was a helpless, suffering invalid. Miss Tilloch's father, according to Weir, aided the young couple at the start, but was forced to end his generosity by troubles of his own. Three children were born of the marriage, John (1814?), Thomas (1815), and Alexander (1817), two of whom were destined to make a mark in Canadian affairs.

For the next few years Galt supported his family by hack work for the publishers and by odd pieces of business which came his way. He contributed three biographies to the *Lives of the British Admirals*, wrote a life of Benjamin West, the historical painter, worked for the *Monthly Magazine* and other periodicals, and put together various compilations. He also tried his hand at novels. Of *The Majolo* (1816), a tale of suspense and mystery, only a few copies were printed. "The work," says Galt, "was never intended to fall into promiscuous hands." The precaution was scarcely necessary. *The Earthquake* (1820), a bewildering and unexciting succession of wanderings and violent deeds, reproduced some of Galt's experiences in the East.

During this period Galt had no settled abode. In 1817 and perhaps earlier he was living in Chelsea, in 1818 near Green-

ock, a place left desolate for him by the deaths of Spence (1815), Park (1817) and his father (1817).¹ A little later he was again in London. One of his Chelsea neighbours, Mrs. Katharine Thomson,² has left a picture of Galt as he was in these years. He was a man of great physical vigour, over six feet in height, with a gift for humorous stories told with a strong Scottish accent. Above all, he had confidence in himself both as author and as man of affairs, a confidence which, after years of drudgery and failure, was about to be justified.

¹His father is buried in Inverkip Street Burying Ground, Greenock. The inscription on the grave reads: Here are deposited the remains of John Galt, formerly shipmaster and merchant in Greenock, who died on the 6th August, 1817, in the 67th year of his age.

²Mrs. Thomson was the wife of Anthony Todd Thomson, the well-known physician. To him Galt dedicated his *Poems* (1833). Her reminiscences of Galt appeared in Bentley's *Miscellany* (vol. 18), and were afterwards reprinted, along with others, under the title *Recollections of Literary Characters and Celebrated Places* (1854).

CHAPTER II

THE SCOTCH NOVELS

Galt came into his own in 1820, the year when Charles Lamb found his true bent. And, as with Lamb, much of his best matter was drawn from memories of youth and boyhood, mellowed and softened by the lapse of thirty years. Always a hasty writer, Galt moved with ease and speed on this familiar ground, and the result in general was not slovenly workmanship. "For once," says his friend Gillies,¹ "the old maxim was reversed; for with him easy writing made easy and pleasant reading. He might therefore well suppose, as he too rashly did, that the road to fame and wealth by literature was open and smooth before him, for he could have scribbled such things *ad infinitum*, and found no end to the ridiculous exhibitions of Scottish character and phraseology in which he delighted." He boasted to Mrs. Thomson that he could write several pages a night. The books which give Galt his secure place in literature appeared, with the exception of *The Last of the Lairds*, within three years. *The Ayrshire Legatees* began to run in Blackwood's Magazine in June, 1820. In the next year the *Annals of the Parish* and *The Steamboat* were published. *The Provost*, *The Gathering of the West*, and *Sir Andrew Wylie* all belong to 1822; and *The Entail* was completed in the same year, though it did not come out till the beginning of 1823. All these works were published by Blackwood to whom Galt acknowledged his debt, declaring that "if there be any originality in my Scottish class of compositions, he is entitled to be considered as the first person who discovered it."²

¹R. P. Gillies (1788-1858), a friend of Scott and Wordsworth and an early contributor to Blackwood's. His recollections of Galt appeared in his *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran* (1851), vol. 3, ch. 3.

²*Autobiog.* II., 235. Galt was a little proud of his position among Maga's contributors. A correspondent of Constable's wrote to him (Dec. 9, 1821), that Galt was said to be the "ostensible editor" of the Magazine. (See *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents*, II., 371.)

The plan of *The Ayrshire Legatees*¹ is simple enough and not very original. It was suggested to Galt by the artless remarks of country visitors in London to whom he acted as guide. The Rev. Dr. Pringle, minister of Garnock, is left a legacy by his cousin, and goes to London with his family to make the necessary arrangements. In the letters of the travellers to their friends at home, which form the chief part of the book, Galt no doubt took *Humphry Clinker* for his model. The little group which receives and discusses the letters is also pleasantly sketched. The members of the Pringle family have some resemblance to Smollett's characters. Mrs. Pringle, unequalled for economy and management among ministers' wives, independent in her spelling, and deeply distressed at English extravagance and the state of the gospel in London, is perhaps the most entertaining. "Tell Mrs. Glibbans," she writes, "that I have not heard of no sound preacher as yet in London—the want of which is no doubt the great cause of the crying sins of the place. What would she think to hear of newspapers selling by tout of horn on the Lord's day? And on the Sabbath night the change houses are more throng than on the Saturday! I am told, but as yet I cannot say that I have seen the evil myself, with my own eyes, that in the summer-time there are tea-gardens, where the tradesmen go to smoke their pipes of tobacco, and to en-

Maginn, the Irish humourist, wrote to Blackwood about Galt in 1823. "In one thing you were decidedly wrong; you ought not to have allowed him to get so thorough an insight into the method of managing the magazine." (See Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons*, I. 390.) Besides his intimacy with Blackwood, Galt was familiar with many of the chief figures of Edinburgh literary society. He knew Lockhart fairly well and Scott slightly. Mrs. Gordon, Christopher North's daughter, says he was a frequent guest at her father's house. Constable Galt speaks of as his old friend. He dined with him on the day when Constable "received from the then undeclared author of *Waverley*, the manuscripts of that celebrated novel, and of several others belonging to the same series." (See note to *Lawrie Todd*.) It was Constable who urged Galt to write the life of Robert Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England and of the Darien expedition. It would have been a congenial subject to Galt, but he did no more with it than make some preliminary studies and notes.

¹*The Ayrshire Legatees* ran in Blackwood's from June, 1820, to Feb., 1821, an instalment appearing every number except Nov., 1820. *The Steamboat* began in Feb., 1821, and ended in December.

ertain their wives and children, which can be nothing less than a bringing of them to an untimely end." Excellent, too, is the gravity of Dr. Pringle who is unwittingly betrayed into novel-reading by "a History of the Rebellion, anent the hand that an English gentleman of the name of Waverley had in it." The romantic Miss Pringle and her brother Andrew the advocate, are less interesting than their elders. The description of George III's funeral and Andrew's comments on well known London people of the day, such as Sir Francis Burdett and Galt's old travelling companion, Hobhouse, are not in the best taste. Personalities were too common a resource of Blackwood's in the early days, and Galt admitted later that the device was a mistake.¹

Galt's plan of bringing simple Scottish folk to London had been thought of some years earlier by another writer. In December, 1814, Lockhart wrote to Constable about a sketch he was composing which was to deal with classes of Scotch society so far "quite untouched." "The hero is one John Todd, a true-blue, who undertakes a journey to London in a Berwick smack, and is present in the metropolis at the same time with the Emperor of Russia and the other illustrious visitors in June last." If Lockhart's story was ever finished it does not seem to have been published.²

The Ayrshire Legatees won immediate popularity, but was a puzzle to the critics. Galt's name was not on the title-page, and shortly after it began to run in the magazine appeared *The Earthquake* declaring itself to be by the same author. The *Quarterly* expressed delighted surprise at the difference between the two works. But the *Monthly Review* (Nov., 1821) went further, and could not believe them to be by the

¹Galt's repentance was not on the grounds of taste. "I committed a mistake which has prevented that work from being understood by a few. I there made use of the real names of the actual persons with whom I intended to be jocular, and the consequence has been that while I only tried to describe caricatures as seen by others I have been supposed to speak my own opinions." Introduction to *Stories of the Study* (1883). See also *Lit. Life*, I., 227f, and *Autobiog.* II., 229.

²Archibald Constable and his *Literary Correspondents*, III., 151-2. Lang's *Life of Lockhart*, I., 75.

same pen. Most emphatic of all was the *London Magazine* which reviewed *The Earthquake* in January, 1821. "We are absolutely sickened by this—not by the work itself, though it is very absurd and very offensive, but by the fraud of which it is attempted to be made the means. It is expressed on its title-page to be by the author of *The Ayrshire Legatees*. We have no hesitation to declare that it is not by the author of *The Ayrshire Legatees*." The reviewer confesses he had thought Scott the author of the *Legatees*, but that the introduction of actual individuals in the book was unlike Scott's manner. "We have heard it reported," he goes on, "that we owe this *Earthquake* to Mr. John Galt; but cannot affirm that the report is correct. No one, however, who knows anything of Mr. Galt's famous tragedies would ever suspect him of being the writer of a set of acute, close, unaffected representations of actual life, in the shrewd, homely language of the minister and members of an Ayrshire congregation of Presbyterians." How long Galt's authorship was concealed is hard to say. In June, 1822, Christopher North flatly announced the truth in Blackwood's, and declared that the successive chapters of the *Legatees* "were immediately and universally acknowledged to be the very best articles that ever had been in any periodical work, and deservedly high as the character of our miscellany then stood, yet *The Ayrshire Legatees* increased our sale prodigiously."

The reception of the book induced Galt to offer another work to Blackwood, of which the private history is rather curious. When very young Galt, it seems, wished to write a book that would be for Scotland what *The Vicar of Wakefield* is for England, and early began to observe in what respects the minister of a parish differed from the general inhabitants of the country. But the idea was not followed up with energy and might have come to nothing. During a solitary Sunday walk to the village of Inverkip near Greenock, while noticing the various changes in the place and reflecting on old vanished conditions, the intention of writing a minister's sedate adventures returned upon him, and he felt something like the glow

with which Rousseau conceived his essay on the arts and sciences. For many years, however, business and the vicissitudes of life suspended the design, though it was constantly remembered. Finally, in 1813, the year before *Waverley*, the work began to take shape as the *Annals of the Parish*.¹ When it was nearly finished Galt wrote to his old acquaintance Constable, the bookseller; but the reply was not encouraging. Scottish novels, he was told, would not do. As a result of Constable's answer the unfinished manuscript was thrown into a drawer and forgotten.

One Sunday years afterwards, Galt discovered it while setting his papers in order. He read it over, as a stranger might do, and submitted it to a friend at dinner the same day. They thought well enough of it to send it off to Blackwood, by whom it was warmly welcomed. Priding himself on "taking an interest in the literary department" of his business, Blackwood made several slight omissions and alterations in the manuscript with Galt's permission. Finally, in 1821, appeared *Annals of the Parish, or The Chronicle of Dalmailing, during the Ministry of the Rev. Micah Balwhidder, written by himself, arranged and edited by the author of The Ayrshire Legatees*. The history of book, begun early, forgotten for years, and rediscovered by chance, reminds one of the story of the fishing-tackle and *Waverley*.

Its success was great and immediate.² Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, and a veteran figure in Scottish literature, extended his "sincere and cordial approbation"; Croker, ignorant of the authorship, admitted it was "very

¹During his walk to Inverkip Galt thought of making a village schoolmaster instead of a minister the central figure of the book, but the intention was abandoned. A specimen of the earlier scheme was later used by Galt in *Eben Erskine*, I., 71-87.

²See *Blackw. Mag.*, May, 1821, June, 1822; *Quart. Review*, April, 1821; *Edin. Review*, Oct., 1823; *Monthly Review*, Nov., 1821; Lockhart's *Scott*, c. 52; Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons*, I., 448-452; *Scots Mag.*, June, 1821. Byron "praised the *Annals of the Parish* very highly, as also the *Entail*. . . . Some scenes of which, he said, had affected him very much. 'The characters of Mr. Galt's novels have an identity,' added Byron, 'that reminds me of Wilkie's pictures.'" (*Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington*.)

good"; Scott read it with pleasure; Jeffrey's verdict was extremely favourable, and Byron praised it highly.¹

The *Annals* has the least alloy of all Galt's books. There are few things in literature more real and in better keeping than this quiet chronicle of half a century (1760-1810) in the life of a Scotch village. The parish minister, who, in the evening of his days set down the memorable events of his little world year by year, reveals at the same time his benevolent and complacent character. He relates his stormy "placing" against the will of the parishioners, his gradual winning of their affections, his three courtings and marriages, and his endless activity in and out of the pulpit. Though master of no "kirk-filling eloquence," he can command a strain of simple, telling pathos, and his humour is not the less pleasant and genial because it is often unconscious. Nothing, for instance, can be better in its way than Balwhidder's account of how, when a recruiting party came to Dalmailing, Mr. Archibald Dozendale, one of his elders, had a sober tumbler of toddy with him at the Manse, "marvelling exceedingly where these fearful portents and changes would stop, both of us being of opinion, that the end of the world was drawing nearer and nearer." The great events of the outside world, the American Rebellion and the French Revolution, have a place in the record only so far as they intrude on the narrow sphere of his parish. Things near at hand loom large to the simple annalist. "In the same year, and on the same day of the same month, that his Sacred Majesty King George, the third of the name, came to his crown and kingdom, I was placed and settled as the minister of Dalmailing." The year 1763 was notable because "the King granted peace to the French, and Charlie Malcolm that went to sea in the Tobacco trader came home to see his mother."

¹Hogg, however, was less enthusiastic. "I am surprised," Blackwood wrote to him, May 15, 1821, "at your having such a very humble opinion of the 'Parish Annals,' but I am happy to tell you that it is very differently estimated by Mr. Henry Mackenzie, Sir Walter Scott, Professor Wilson, Mr. Lockhart and fifty others, who are all loud in its praises. I am also happy to say that you are mistaken as to its sale, for in three or four days there were nearly 500 copies sold in London, and I have already sold here nearly 400 copies. In short, I have seldom published a more popular or valuable book." Mrs. Oliphant, *op. cit.*, I., 343.

Galt's purpose had been to write a Scottish *Vicar of Wakefield*, and indeed the two books have points in common. Several of the reviewers saw the resemblance. Both Galt and Goldsmith know how to describe simple life, and both draw on reminiscence and personal experience for their material. Both are happy in autobiography, and neither is very skilful in contriving a plot. Here is Galt's advantage, for his plan frees him from the necessity of inventing a story which would probably have been no more convincing than Goldsmith's. "Any talent that I ever possessed," he admitted,¹ "lay in the delineation of what may be called moral and visible description; and I am sure, when I worked with a story it was in comparatively galling harness." Free from this bondage, Galt is at liberty to introduce the whole range of village humours, and for this he does not need to go beyond his own experience and observation. The personages and incidents are, for the most part, those he had known or heard of in his youth. Dalmailing itself is a reality, for Galt tells us that the scene is actually laid in Dreghorn, a couple of miles from Irvine. "In a still evening, I sometimes think of its beautiful church amidst a clump of trees . . . nor is the locality to me uninteresting, as it happens to be the burial place of my 'forebears'."²

The Steamboat is made of flimsier and cheaper material than either of its predecessors; its fun tends more to burlesque and relies more on local allusions and personalities. A score of stories, some very short, and several cut off at the critical moment under a mistaken idea of humour, are loosely strung together on a thread of narrative in which Thomas Duffie, cloth merchant of Glasgow, relates his voyages up and down the Clyde and his great journey to London to see the coronation of George IV. Dr. and Mr. Pringle of the *Legatees* are his fellow-passengers to London. The introduction of the same characters into more than one book came to be used frequently by Galt, and helps to increase the reality of his novels.

¹*Lit. Life*, I., 317.

²*Autobiog.* II., 228.

Most of the tales are commonplace, and one, *A Jeanie Deans in Love*, is a detestable parody of one of Scott's greatest scenes. The story of Mrs. Ogle¹ and Mr. Jamphrey, the chief of "the criticising policemen of Edinburgh," is an excellent piece of Scots and an inexcusable indulgence in personalities. Jeffrey is thinly disguised under the changed name, and an incident in his private life is used to raise a laugh at his expense. Even Lockhart, a serious offender himself in these matters, was displeased. "Mrs. Ogle is exquisite," he wrote to Blackwood, "but I am sorry to say I think altogether unfair. You may have a right to quiz Jeffrey . . . but nobody has a right to meddle with the private amusements of a private lady. How would Mr. Galt like to have an account in a Magazine of a little frolic played off in her family by a female of his acquaintance?"² Another butt of the Blackwood group whom Galt introduces is James Scott, a Glasgow dentist, who was frequently ridiculed as the Odontist and represented as a contributor to the magazine. "How would you like it," the injured man asked Blackwood, "if I were to sit down and write a deal of stuff about you, Mr. Galt or Mr. Wilson?"³ The author of the *Annals* should have been above offensive personalities, and he could not, like Lockhart, plead the indiscretion of youth. The ludicrous description of the coronation expresses Galt's own opinion of the ceremony, which, he said, lessened his respect for the tricks of state more than anything he ever witnessed. Among the spectators, "an elderly man, about fifty, with a fair grey head, and something of the appearance of a gawsy good-humoured country laird" is pointed out to Thomas Duffie as "the Author of *Waverley*."

In *The Provost* Galt did for a west country town what he had done for a rural district in the *Annals*. He himself thought the later book a better piece of work, but few will agree with him. The periods covered in the two chronicles are

¹Mrs. Ogle was Miss Stirling Graham, famous in Edinburgh society for her personations, who described her pranks in *Mystifications* (1859). See Dr. John Brown's *Horae Subsecivae*, Third Series.

²Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit. I., 218.

³Ibid., I., 212-3.

much the same; in both are heard the distant thunders of the American troubles and the French Revolution. The skill in autobiography, the vernacular humour, the ever-present sense of reality are common to both. Both are the ordered results of observation and memory, for Gudetown is in reality Irvine, and the original of Provost Pawkie was chief magistrate there in Galt's boyhood.¹ But there is more variety of character, incident and feeling in the *Annals*. The spirit of *The Provost* is meaner and harder, and the atmosphere of the little town, seething with its own petty concerns, is at times unpleasantly oppressive. Provost Pawkie himself, who was thrice made an instrument to represent the supreme power and authority of Majesty in the royal burgh of Gudetown, has less of the simple stuff of humanity than the minister of Dalmailing. He is concerned to set forth the successive triumphs of his career, his prosperity as a merchant, his dexterous handling of the town council and his services to the burgh. His complacent narrative is broken occasionally, however, by an exciting incident such as the raid of the press gang. At times, too, the tone rises above the stuffiness of burgh politics to a level of simple poignant emotion. The description of the storm, *The Windy Yule*, would, as Jeffrey remarked, "not discredit the pen of the great novelist himself," and the execution of Jean Gaisling for child murder is told with a harsh strength and grim humour, relieved by tenderness for "the poor guideless creature." If Galt had had it in him to write *The Heart of Midlothian* there would have been no reprieve for Effie Deans.

The reception of *The Provost* showed no falling-off in Galt's popularity. An edition of two thousand was sold in a fortnight, and a second edition melted like snow off a dyke. To Galt, who viewed literature only as a trade, there were other results no less pleasant. "You may rest assured," Blackwood told him, "that I will give you more for this volume than I did for the *Annals*."² Galt was proud of his earn-

¹Baillie Fullarton, a candle maker by trade. His portrait hangs in the Council Chamber, and characteristic stories are still told of him in the Burgh.

²Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., I., 415.

ing power, and refers to his success in *The Last of the Lairds*. "That silly auld hawering creature, Balwhidder o' Dalmailing," says the Laird, "got a thousand pounds sterling, doun on Blackwood's counter, in red gold, for his clishmaclavers; and Provost Pawkie's widow has had twice the dooble o't, they say, for the Provost's life."¹

"I am a little anxious to see *Sir Andrew Wylie*," wrote Croker to Blackwood (Dec. 28, 1821), "*the Annals of the Parish* and *The Ayrshire Legatees* were not only good, but they gave promise of greater things; and I should not be surprised, if the author but be a little careful in what he does . . . to find him acknowledged hereafter as second, and only second, to the great Oudeis of *Waverley*. This I know may look like an extravagant anticipation; but there are pages in the *Annals* and spots in the *Legatees* which would be shining places in the *Pirate*. If he be a young author he may scatter his wild oats about; but if he be anything like a veteran, he should husband his resources and make not more than one great effort per annum."²

Croker was probably disappointed when he saw *Sir Andrew Wylie*, for in it Galt's strength and weakness stand side by side. His original intention was to exhibit the rise of a friendless Scot in London, but on the advice of Blackwood he abandoned the idea of autobiography, gave his hero a patron and elaborated his plot into a wearisome and unconvincing narrative of Andrew's progress from cottar's son to lawyer, member of parliament and baronet. But we are interested only in the outset and close of his career. The boyhood of the "auld-farand bairn" in his grandmother's cottage and under the modest dominie is told with the gentleness and charm which belong to reminiscent writing. The return of the successful adventurer to the little Ayrshire village and his marriage with the Laird of Craiglands' daughter—Galt's only real

¹He was not always pleased with Blackwood's methods. A request for an advance of £200 was refused by Blackwood, and Galt wrote to Tilloch (March, 1822): "He has acted more shabbily than any person I have yet had to deal with in literary matters."

²Mrs. Oliphant, I., 474-5.

heroine—are a pleasant ending to a very unequal book. Humour and pathos are finely mingled, and in a manner wholly Scottish, in the death of the old Laird.

But when Galt crosses the Tweed he loses his cunning. The picture of English society and its eager reception of Andrew is impossible, though Galt is obviously anxious to show his familiarity with the world of London.¹ Andrew's patron, the Earl of Sandyford—intended by Galt as a portrait of the Earl of Blessington—is a Byronic figure, who has “rushed into the whirlpool of fashionable dissipation . . . as if he sought, by the velocity of a headlong career, to escape the miseries of some mysterious sorrow.” The breach between him and Lady Sandyford, whom he had loved since “he beheld her in the graces of her virgin years, bounding like the fawn amidst the stately groves that surround the venerable magnificence of her ancestral home,” is healed by Andrew's friendly offices. The book is said to have been the most popular of Galt's novels in England. “I was pleased the other day, said Hazlitt,² “on going into a shop to ask ‘If they had any of the Scotch novels?’ to be told ‘That they had just sent out the last, *Sir Andrew Wylie*!’ Mr. Galt will also be pleased with this answer.” But it was less popular in Scotland than its forerunners. Jeffrey found the story “clumsily and heavily managed and the personages of polite life very unsuccessfully brought in.”³ Galt's fellow-craftsman, Miss Ferrier, declared, “I have not read *Sir Andrew Wylie*, as I can't endure that man's writings, and I'm told the vulgarity of this *beats print*.”⁴ It is easy to forgive part of the verdict, for the display of simple Scottish humors

¹“Were I to get sufficient encouragement, I think I could write a novel on the progress of a Scotchman in London, embracing all varieties of metropolitan life, that would assuredly take.” (Galt to Blackwood, Jan. 30, 1822) Mrs. Oliphant, *op. cit.* I., 452. Croker thought little of Galt's knowledge of London life. “His characters of public men,” he wrote of the *Legatees*, “show that he does not know much of them. He makes some little blunders as to the state of the higher society in this town.” Mrs. Oliphant, I., 449.

²*On the Pleasure of Hating*.

³*Edin. Rev.*, Oct., 1823.

⁴*Memoir of Susan Ferrier*, by J. A. Doyle, p. 157.

in London is much better managed in her own charming story *Marriage* (1818).

There is plenty of boisterious local fun in *The Gathering of the West, or We're Come to See the King*, which appeared in *Blackwood's* in September, 1822. It is a *jeu d'esprit* on George IV's visit to Scotland, in which Galt describes the stir caused among "the bustling, ruddy, maritime Greenock folks," and the radical weaver lads of Paisley, and the pompous magistrates of Glasgow.¹

If *The Entail, or The Lairds of Grippy* is not Galt's best book, it is at least his best story, and, indeed, his only success in constructing an effective plot. The story follows the history of a family through three generations somewhat in the manner of Zola, and records with dour deliberation the inevitable births, marriages and deaths. Claud Walkinshaw, grandson of the last Laird of Kittlestoneheugh, is left in poverty by his grandfather's ruin and his father's early death. His hard narrow nature is raised to a kind of greatness by his single great passion to redeem the inheritance of his ancestors. As a pedlar in the Border country and as a cloth merchant in Glasgow he gathers enough gear to buy the farm of Grippy, part of the old family estates. He further improves his position by a sordid marriage with the Laird of Plealands' daughter, who bears him three sons and a daughter. The second son Watty, a "natural" from his birth, inherits the Plealands, which Claud contrives to exchange for the unredeemed portion of his ancestral property. He then disinherits his eldest and favourite son Charles, in order that the whole original family estate may be vested in Watty. When Charles dies leaving a helpless family the old man is seized by remorse, but is struck down by paralysis before he can right the wrong.

¹Both Weir and Rodger declare that the skit gave offence to many. On Aug. 13, 1822, he writes to the Countess of Blessington: "Here, all are on tip-toe for the King; but my worthy countrymen proceed so very considerably in their loyalty that nothing amusing has yet occurred. The best thing I have heard of is, the ladies who intend to be presented practising the management of their trains with table-cloths pinned to their tails." *Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, by R. R. Madden, vol. 3., p. 235.

The third son George, less passionate and more sordid than his father, has Watty proved an imbecile and wrests the lands from him. After George meets his death by shipwreck the estate ultimately comes to Charles's son, and belated poetic justice is dealt out.

The book is not of equal merit throughout. Galt, unlike Balzac, whose work is more than once recalled by *The Entail*, loses the courage of his hard realism; Claud's remorse is poignant but somewhat unexpected. There is less of such edifying concession to morality in the description of Mr. Cayenne's death in the *Annals*, one of Galt's most daring achievements. With the removal of Claud's dominating figure the story falls to a lower level, though his widow, the Leddy Grippy, who has few equals among the women of Scottish fiction, remains to the end with her genius for intrigue and her terribly competent vernacular; and there is also the great scene of the shipwreck. The latter part of the book is weighted down by Mrs. Eadie, a majestic lady troubled with second sight, who represents Galt's only serious attempt to portray Highland character. She is an unfortunate concession to the romantic fiction of the day, and is strangely out of place in the bleak and blackguardly world of the Walkinshaws. Watty, the "natural," is the most pathetic figure in any of Galt's books, and any English novelist might be proud of the court scene in which he is declared an imbecile. "Am I found guilty," he exclaims on hearing the verdict of Fatuity, "oh, surely, sir, ye'll no hang me, for I cou'dna help it?" The hopeless remainder of his life is indicated with masterly restraint, and Galt wisely refuses to show us the death-scene of the poor daft Laird of Grippy.¹

¹Galt has described several of these "naturals," common enough figures then in the country districts of Scotland, where there were no asylums to receive them and where the seclusion from the outside world tended to accentuate peculiarities. Daft Jamie in *Sir Andrew Wylie*, whose favourite haunt was Greenock because "the folk there were just like himsel'" and whose remarks often showed unexpected shrewdness, is a type of these strange character. He resembles Davie Gellatley, the major-domo of Tully-Veolan, who "had just so much solidity as kept on the windy side of insanity." There is a wilder and more tragic strain

The legal intricacies of the plot are elaborately worked out, but are more completely fused with the human interest of the story than in George Eliot's *Lelix Holt*. The rascally lawyers are a striking contrast to Scott's genial pictures of Edinburgh legal society. There are the virtuous lawyers also, but like the other good people in the book they are not very interesting.

Galt himself says strangely little about *The Entail*, and hardly seems aware of its greatness, though he was pleased with its reception. "I had a note on Saturday from Lord Gwydyr," he writes to Blackwood, "telling me it was much talked of in Brighton, and this morning the Speaker told me he thought it very amusing. Justice Park, and he *is a judge* you will say, thinks it the best of my works. . . . Thomson considers it far the best thing I have done, and showing power above anything in my former sketches. Dr. Tilloch also speaks well of it, but I have not seen him; and divers ladies and booksellers speak very favourably."¹ Both Scott and Byron, he tells us, read the book three times. Christopher North in Blackwood's (Jan., 1823), declared that Galt was now entitled to "take his place in the second rank of British novelists. When we say this, which we do fearlessly, we consider him inferior only to two living writers of fictitious narratives—to him whom we need not name, and to Miss Edgeworth. *The Entail* is out of all sight the best thing he has done, and shews his genius to have stamina that will yet send forth still more vigorous shoots and shady branches." The forecast was not unreasonable, but it was never fulfilled. Galt's best work was behind him.

A new field was opened up by Galt's Scottish novels, and his claim that he had had few precursors was reasonable. The life of the villages and small towns of Scotland had not till now found a chronicler.

in Jenny Gaffaw and her idiot daughter Meg in the *Annals*. Meg "was a sort of household familiar among us, and there was much like the inner side of wisdom in the pattern of her sayings, many of which are still preserved as proverbs."

¹Mrs. Oliphant, *op. cit.* I., 453.

Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton in her *Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808) was in some sort a forerunner of Galt. She described the sluttish and toilsome life of country folk in the eighteenth century with a fidelity which won the praise of Scott, though she was led to overcharge the picture at times in her eagerness to show the need of activity and cleanliness. Her lessons of good housewifery brought, it is said, comeliness and order into many a Scottish cottage.¹

On Scott's great national canvas there are sketches which remind one of Galt's work—Mrs. Mailsetter and her gossips in *The Antiquary*, Nicol Jarvie resembling Provost Pawkie in his sedate municipal dignity, Meg Dods with her vernacular and managing ways. This side of Scott's work was no doubt very congenial to Galt, who singles out *The Antiquary* and *St. Ronan's Well* for special praise, and who in *The Entail* actually introduces Mrs. Jarvie, "the wife of the far-famed Bailie Nicol, the same Matty, who lighted the worthy magistrate to the Tolbooth on that memorable night when he, the son of the deacon, found his kinsman Rob Roy there." But on the whole Scott moves in a different world from Galt. His relation to Galt resembles that of Shakespeare to the citizen drama of his age. Scott's concern is with Dandie Dinmont and his dogs, with statesmen and nobles, with kings and queens; Galt's is with bailies and merchants, ministers and small lairds. Equally at home with gentle and simple, Scott does not linger gladly in the narrow sphere of Gudetown or Dalmailing, where romance receives small encouragement. For it is romance more than anything else which separates Scott and Galt. In the Waverley Novels romance upsets the lives even of cautious sober townsmen like Nicol Jarvie, but the career of

¹Scott refers to Mrs. Hamilton (1758-1816) in *Waverley* (last chap.), and *Heart of Midlothian* (ch. 10). Mrs. Hamilton was unmarried, but after a while took the style of "Mrs." or "Mistress." Curiously enough *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, like *Waverley* and the *Annals* was for a while laid aside and all but forgotten by its author. (See Miss Benger's *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton* (1819), vol. I., 183-4.) Miss Benger calls the book "a Tale in the manner of Wilkie," the comparison which Byron had applied to Galt. Jeffrey's review in the *Edinburgh* (July, 1808) is excellent.

Provost Pawkie moves on majestically, undisturbed by any such frivolous intrusion. Romance, declares Mrs. Soorocks in *The Last of the Lairds*, is "just a thing for playactors, and the likes o' Sir Walter, to mak a clishmaclaver o'." While the darling subject of Scott is the Jacobite rising of '45, Galt is at his best in describing the changes which followed the rebellion and went to the making of modern Scotland. The romance in Galt's Scottish fictions is that of material progress, not that of a lost cause. It is appropriate that it was from the *Annals* that J. S. Mill borrowed the word Utilitarian.

Galt valued these books for what he called their "likeness," that is, their historical truth. The absence of a regular plot in the *Annals*, *The Provost* and *The Ayrshire Legatees* made them deficient as novels in his opinion, and he regarded them rather as theoretical local histories. Looking upon literature as a record of things done and as a harmonious ordering of memories and observations, Galt was apt to belittle invention. Men, he argued, can only combine the old; and no ingenuity can make an entirely new thing. In other words, Galt chiefly valued the kind of invention which he himself possessed. He was not content like Scott merely to amuse his age; he wished also to play the dominie. In all his works he kept "the instructive principle more or less in view," and looked upon the novel as a vehicle for teaching. "Indeed, it is not in this age that a man of ordinary common sense would enter into competition, in recreative stories, with a great genius who possessed the attention of all, I mean Sir Walter Scott."¹ The truth of art was not enough for Galt; he also aimed at truth of fact. It is this which gives his west country fictions their air of reality, so that Wilson declared the *Annals* was not a book but a fact, and Blackwood's mother read it with delight as the record of an honest and upright minister of the gospel till she learned with grief and astonishment that it was a novel.

The part of Scottish history which Galt describes was a natural choice. The last half of the eighteenth century was

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 210.

the only settled and undisturbed period of any length which Scotland had enjoyed for centuries. Never before in her history had there been an opportunity for the full development of her resources. With peace came all the changes which transformed the industrial and social life of the country. No subject could be more congenial to Galt than the chronicling of such progress. For once and once only the rival ambitions which distracted his career found common ground and were reconciled. The awakening of Scotland was a theme which appealed to him as a man of letters and as a man of commercial schemes and projects.

The general spirit of improvement which made itself felt after the Forty-Five affected the whole country in varying degrees and different ways. "The minds of men were excited to new enterprizes; a new genius, as it were, had descended upon the earth, and there was an erect and outlooking spirit abroad that was not to be satisfied with the taciturn regularity of ancient affairs."¹

The history of Dalmailing recorded in the *Annals* is that of a typical Ayrshire parish. At the beginning of the chronicle Balwhidder's parishioners were shut off from the world by many barriers. It was a great event when Mr. Kibbock got a newspaper twice a week from Edinburgh.² The roads, foul, stony, and unsavoury with middens, were improved, and in 1789 Balwhidder records with astonishment that a coach went from Dalmailing to Glasgow between breakfast and dinner—"a thing that could not, when I came to the parish, have been thought within the compass of man."³ Such changes brought new luxuries and comforts. "For times, gudeman," said the Leddy Grippy to her husband, "are no noo as when you and me cam thegither. Then a bein house and a snod but and ben was a' that was lookit for; but sin genteelity came into fashion lads and lassies hae grown leddies and gentlemen, and a Glasgow wife saullying to the kirk wi' her muff and her man-

¹*Annals*, c. xxix.

²*Ibid*, c. x., xviii.

³*Ibid*, c. xxx.

tle looks as puckered wi' pride as my lord's leddy."¹ Even in Dalmailing the simple snood began to give way to "French millendery."² Various changes helped to soften and refine manners. Tea-drinking, opposed by the older generation with their memories of "the lang-syne nights of claret," gradually made its way. In time it became a rare thing to meet "decent ladies coming home with red faces, tozy and cosh from a posset masking."³ Balwhidder also set his face against the drunken extravagance which was the rule at burials.⁴

Such reforms were the outcome of altered industrial conditions. The coal mines—there were three beside Dalmailing—began it. Cotton-mills followed, and new towns, such as Cayenneville in the *Annals*, sprang up to house the employees. At the end of his ministry Balwhidder recognizes that the old quiet isolation of a country parish is gone for ever. "We had intromitted so much with concerns of trade, that we were become a part of the great web of commercial reciprocities, and felt in our corner and extremity every touch or stir that was made on any part of the texture."⁵

Changes in agriculture were slower than those in commerce; but after the middle of the century reforms began to come fairly quickly. Ignorant traditional methods and cumbersome implements were gradually laid aside. The pioneers belonged to a different class from the leaders in industrial development. Great lawyers like Lord Kames and noblemen like the Earl of Eglinton—the Lord Eglesham of the *Annals*—led the way. Wealthy nabobs such as Mr. Galore in *The Provost* also played a part. East Lothian was the headquarters of agricultural reform in Scotland. The original of Mr. Coulter in the *Annals* was Andrew Wight of Ormiston who was invited to Ayrshire by Lord Eglinton. "There had been no such man in the agriculturing line among us before. . . .

¹*Entail*, c. xxxvi.

²*Annals*, c. ix.

³*Annals*, c. ii., iii. The importance of tea in the smuggling trade is also described—*Annals*, c. ii., v., xi., xix and *Betheral*, c. xx.

⁴*Last of the Lairds*, c. iii. *Entail*, c. ix. *Annals*, c. xxiv., xlv., cp. *The Bride of Lammermoor*, c. ii.

⁵*Annals*, c. xlv.

He turned all to production, and it was wonderful what an increase he made the land bring forth. He was from far beyond Edinburgh, and had got his insight among the Lothian farmers, so that he knew what crop should follow another, and nothing could surpass the regularity of his rigs and furrows."¹ Run-rig cultivation fell into disuse; fields were enclosed, fallowed and drained; leases were lengthened, so that a tenant could secure the benefit of improvements if he chose to make them. Turnips began to be sown and supplied a better winter-food for cattle than straw and mashed whins. New dairying methods brought profit to many a thrifty household such as that of the second Mrs. Balwhidder.²

The treelessness of Scotland, long a subject of English satire, now began to disappear. Mr. Kibbock "planted mounts of fir-trees on the bleak and barren tops of the hills of his farm, the which everybody . . . considered as a thrashing of the water and raising of bells."³ But when it was seen that the fields were sheltered and that he got wood for fences his example was widely followed by neighbouring lairds.

The political development kept pace with the advance in industry and agriculture. The agitation against patronage in the church is vividly illustrated in the stormy "placing" of Mr. Balwhidder. The vigorous feeling called forth by this question was later transferred to political causes. The abuses in municipal politics and the growing protests against them are fully exposed in *The Provost*. Galt shows, too, how the French Revolution stirred the country as the smaller questions of county, burghs and ecclesiastical reform had not done. Like the American War it created a keen desire for news which the Scottish press was not adequate to satisfy. The newly established bookseller in Dalmailing imported a London newspaper for the mill-hands who met nightly at the Cross Keys to discuss French affairs. In this Dalmailing was typical of the

¹Ibid, c. vii.

²*Annals*, c. vi. *Sir Andrew Wylie*, c. xc. *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, c. xiii., gives only too faithful a picture of the old dairy methods.

³*Annals*, c. vi., xxi.

whole country which began to be covered by a network of village clubs and debating societies, to the alarm of quiet men like Balwhidder. Even Provost Pawkie, with all his love of jobbing and corruption was forced to admit "that the peremptory will of authority was no longer sufficient for the rule of mankind."¹

There was opposition to all these changes. The smaller lairds saw with dismay their remains of feudal grandeur being snatched from them. They naturally resented the importance attached to new-fangled ideas. Auldbiggings, in *The Last of the Lairds*, is a type of their gloomy, decayed mansion-houses with "mortgage-mouldered gables," the inevitable dovecote, shapeless mass of outbuildings, broken gateposts and ill-kept garden full of old-fashioned flowers and surrounded by an untrimmed hedge.² Here they lived in sulky seclusion and looked out blackly on a changing world. They railed at the high taxes and wages and at the liberty and equality spirit of the times. "It was a black day when poor Scotland saw the incoming pestilence of the cotton jennies. The reformers and them were baith clekit at the same time, and they'll live and thrive, and I hope will be damned thegither. . . . The vera weavers in Glasgow and Paisley hae houses, I'm told, that the Craiglands here wouldna be a byre to. Can ony gude come, but vice and immorality, from sic upsetting in a Christian kingdom? . . . It's enough to . . . gar a bodie scunner to hear o' weavers in coaches. . . . I would as soon sit in a Relief Kirk as darken the door o' ony sic cattle. . . . Is't not as clear as a pike-staff that trade and traffic are to be the ruin o' this country?"³ In *The Provost* we see how, as time went on, the gentry had to abate in their pretensions and consent to mix with the "gawsie, big-bellied burgesses, not a few of whom had heritable bonds on their estates."⁴

¹*Provost*, c. xxviii.

²*Last of the Lairds*, c. i. *Sir Andrew Wyllie*, c. vii. Compare Tully Veolan in *Waverley*.

³*Sir Andrew Wyllie*, c. xc., xciii.

⁴*Provost*, c. xxxiv., xxxv.

The agricultural reforms had to fight their way step by step. There was more sympathy for Mungo Campbell the exciseman, who shot Lord Eglinton in 1769, than for his victim, whose new notions had made him unpopular.¹ When he introduced "that outlandish practice from the east countrie which, for a better name, is called rotation of crops,"² many folk denounced it as an attempt to defeat the plan of the Creator who meant the earth to be clothed in green grass. The Laird of Auldbiggings maintained that "national decay, agricultural distresses, broken merchants, ravelled manufacturers, and brittle bankers" were never heard of before turnip-farming came into vogue. "To gar sheep and kye to crunch turnips was contrary to nature, their teeth being made for grass and kail blades."³

But the new spirit made its way in spite of such hostility. Even the romantic Miss Pringle, when she gazed on the new harbour of Ardrossan, shared the enthusiasm for material progress and forgot to lament the decay of chivalry. "What a monument has the late Earl of Eglinton left there of his public spirit! It should embalm his memory in the hearts of future ages, as I doubt not but in time Ardrossan will become a grand emporium."⁴

¹His death is described in the *Annals*, c. xxi.

²*Betheral*, c. xxvi.

³*Last of the Lairds*, c. xxxv.

⁴*Ayr. Leg.*, Letter 2.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATION OF THE CANADA COMPANY

Galt had at last established himself by the swift succession of his Scottish novels and sketches. But the annals of quiet parishes and the humours of small towns are a limited theme. Accordingly Galt turned historical novelist, and, it would seem, with no misgivings. He "often averred to me," says Gillies, "that his literary resources were far greater in extent than those of Sir Walter Scott or any other contemporary." It would have been friendly of Gillies not to have recorded this pronouncement.

Ringan Gilhaize, or The Covenanters (1823) is the first¹ and best of these historical fictions. The plan of the book is unusual and ambitious. It records the sufferings of three generations of a Covenanting family and covers the period from the martyrdom of Wishart to Killiecrankie where Claverhouse falls by Ringan's hand. *The Monastery, The Abbot and Old Mortality* together contain less history, and this is not to their disadvantage, for Galt's book is too much of a chronicle and too little of a romance. "The Calamities," as Jeffrey remarked, "are too numerous and too much alike." But the book has ardour and sincerity, and Galt is aided by the autobiographical form and the Ayrshire setting.

The genesis of the book was due to *Old Mortality*, which, Galt thought, treated the Covenanters with objectionable levity.² Claverhouse is drawn in accordance with the West Country traditions of his cruelty, but on the whole Galt is fair enough, more moderate than McCrie in his irritated review of *Old Mortality* and more readable than Hogg in his dull tale,

¹In his *Literary Life* (1849) Galt mentions two books, *Glenfell* and *Andrew of Padua*, which a friend reminded him that he had written. Galt tells us nothing of them, but the titles suggest historical novels. I have found no other reference to them.

²*Lit. Life*, I., 254. One of the stories (*The Covenanter*) in *The Steamboat* also speaks with disapproval of *Old Mortality*. Among Galt's papers are some lines entitled *The Covenanters* which describe his boyish meditations by a martyr's tomb near the village of Largs.

The Brownie of Bodspeck. With all its faults *Ringan Gilhaize* gives a pathetic picture of those who suffered and worshipped on the upland moors and lonely brae-sides.

In the same year appeared *The Spaewife, A Tale of the Scottish Chronicles*. Its subject, the reign and murder of James I of Scotland, had already been used by Galt in a blank verse tragedy.¹ With his usual economy of effort he drew upon the play for several scenes in the novel. The central tragic story of the King is overlaid by a diffuse and intricate plot. None of the characters are well drawn, though the Spaewife, Anniple of Dunblane, a sort of Meg Merrilies in her sudden appearances and snatches of song, has in some of her speeches the poignancy of which Galt is occasionally master. The book, according to Galt, was enjoyed by George IV and praised by Miss Edgeworth. Scott's verdict (*Journal*, July 18, 1829) is half favourable.

In *Rothelan* (1824) a story of a wicked uncle in the time of Edward III, Galt takes no pains to hide his lack of interest. He is weary of historical romance and declares his preference for "an old crone with a curious character or an odd and droll carl to all the mysterious castles and turretry of Christendom." Once or twice he escapes from his absurd world of unrealities and introduces some good Scots dialogue. The frequent digressions discuss such matters as three-volume novels and life insurance. "On the whole," said the *British Critic* (Dec., 1824), "we strongly recommend Mr. Galt to leave romances to Sir Walter."

Blackwood did not publish the historical novels. If they were offered to him he was shrewd enough to see that Galt was but a feeble rival of Scott. At any rate he and Galt seem to have quarrelled in 1823. "It is probable," wrote Maginn to Blackwood, "that in a tradesman point of view you will lose little by not publishing *Ringan Gilhaize*, for G. is writing too fast. Even Waverley himself is going it too strong on us, and he is a *leetle* better trump than Galt. However, do not let anything ever so little harsh appear against it in *Maga*. I

¹Printed in *Lit. Life*, Vol. III.

shall review it for you, if you like, praising it and extracting the greatest trash to be found in it as specimens to bear out my panegyric. G. will swallow it."¹ Galt's contemporaries saw far more clearly than he himself the limitations of his literary gift.

In 1823 Galt had settled with his family at Eskgrove House near Musselburgh. Here he met David Macbeth Moir (1798-1851) who practised medicine in Musselburgh almost his whole life. His spare time was given to literature, but his facility has injured his subsequent reputation.² He is still remembered for his *Mansie Wauch* and one or two plaintive poems. Literature proved a bond between Galt with his restless activity and Moir with his steady pursuit of his profession. Both *Rothelan* and *The Last of the Lairds* had finishing touches put to them by Moir. He describes Galt as he was in 1823, with his huge frame, vigorous health, jet-black hair and small eyes looking sharply through his spectacles.³

But Galt's activities between 1820 and 1824 were not merely those of book-maker and novelist. He was also deep in affairs. In these years began his connection with Canada which led to what he regarded as the most important work of his life.

The War of 1812 had brought high but temporary prosperity to Canada. The British troops in the colony offered a steady and convenient market for products of all kinds, and actual warfare had spared the main centres of trade and industry. The peace of 1815, however, put an end to the British government's lavish expenditure and left a set of financial problems awaiting solution.

Among these were the claims for compensation for those who had suffered directly or indirectly in the war. Severe injuries had been endured from contributions levied by Am-

¹Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., I., 390.

²Moir wrote under the pseudonym of Delta. Galt refers to him in *Lawrie Todd* as "Doctor Delta of Musselburgh, a pleasant, mild and sensible young man, somewhat overly addicted to poetry of the pale sort."

³Moir's *Memoir of Galt*, p. xxxiv.

erican invaders as well as by British troops. A commission was appointed under the sanction of the Colonial Office to examine such claims and to award compensation. No specific funds were mentioned at first from which money was to be drawn, but subsequently the proceeds of estates confiscated because of the treachery of their proprietors were directed to be used. This source, however, did not produce any great sum.¹ The commissioners awarded compensation to 2,828 persons, rejected 564 claims, and estimated the required sum of money at £229,000. This amount, however, seemed excessive to the British government, and before payments were made it was decided to establish a commission of revision under special directions to be given by Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State. The award of the new commissioners was to be final. An interval of six or seven years passed in which no payments were made, and there matters stood when Galt became concerned in the affair.²

In 1820 he was appointed London agent for the Canadian claimants; how he came to be chosen does not appear. His colleague was Edward Ellice, a prominent figure in Canadian affairs, later organizer of the Reform Bill campaign for the Whigs and secretary for war in Earl Grey's cabinet. Ellice, however, as a member of the House of Commons, preferred not to act, and the whole matter was left in Galt's hands.³

Now began the official correspondence in which Galt was to be immersed for several years. The importance of his position was not displeasing to him. "He had parliamentary friends," says Gillies, "whom he well knew how to retain. He appeared always at his ease and independent, kept lodgings constantly in Downing Street, had great placidity and amenity

¹*Autobiog.* I., 371. Galt to Bathurst, July 8, 1824. "With the subject of the forfeited estates, I need not acquaint your Lordship that I have the misfortune to be deeply interested in what relates to them, for never was any speculative error regarding the sales of any lands more fallacious than the expected proceeds of those very estates."

²The Canadian Archives, Q. 337-1.

³Galt's *Autobiography* is dedicated to Ellice. Carlyle in 1852 described Ellice as "a wide-flowing old Canadian Scotchman, Politician, Negotiator, etc., etc., called "Bear Ellice" in society here; but rather for his oiliness than for any trace of ferocity ever seen in him."

of manners, and looked and talked very wisely." The case of his Canadian clients he urged with energy and persistence, and the Lords of the Treasury grew accustomed to his importunity. Finally, in July, 1821, they informed him "that they cannot feel themselves justified under the present circumstances and situation of the country in recommending to Parliament the grant of any public money on account of these claims." They declared that all the direct claims had been satisfied or were in course of liquidation.¹ A few days later Galt renewed the attack, and made a vigorous plea for fuller consideration of unpaid claims. All possible arguments were pressed into service. The province of Upper Canada in its defenceless condition would have been lost but for the spirited loyalty of its inhabitants. "Four well-appointed American armies, each of them superior in numerical strength to the whole force in the Province, were destroyed or defeated, and fifty pieces of cannon taken during the first campaign." The settlers had been "indefatigable in the field; they witnessed without complaint the burning of their homes, the devastation of their estates, and their families driven to extreme misery." Yet they are now to be told that no debts are to be paid except those "regularly contracted with regular officers according to regular forms." Generosity will have a good effect on the political sentiment in the province.²

The result of this appeal was a meeting held at Fife House in the early part of March, 1822, at which Lord Bexley, Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst met Galt and Ellice, who, though declining to act officially, lent his aid and advice. It was agreed that Upper Canada should share with the Home Government the expense of compensation to be finally awarded by the commission of revision. Galt was informed by the Treasury that it was impossible under existing circumstances to ask Parliament to vote a sum necessary for the purpose. This led to the consideration of a loan. The first proposal was for £200,000, but the sum finally fixed was £100,000, with an un-

¹Can. Arch., Q. 330.

²Can. Arch., Q. 332-2.

derstanding that if this amount should not be enough a further sum should be raised for the same purpose. The loan was to pay five per cent. interest and to be charged jointly, as to both principal and interest, to the United Kingdom and Upper Canada. Galt was to raise the money, and felt confident of finding lenders on these terms both in London and Glasgow. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was to appoint a new commission to examine the claims. The affair seemed well on the way to be settled, and Galt left London for Scotland.

There was, however, chance for misunderstanding. The instructions drafted in the Colonial Office provided for virtually two loans, one for £50,000 to be guaranteed by the United Kingdom, and one for £50,000 to be raised by Upper Canada on its own security. To effect a loan on these terms was out of the question; money was high and conditions in Upper Canada uncertain. Galt returned to London, and protested that under this interpretation of the arrangement he was unable to negotiate the loan.¹

So ended the proposal. The claims of the sufferers, however, were pressing, and the government decided to pay the sum of £57,412 10s., that is, a quarter of the award made by the original commissioners. This was in the first instance considered an equitable and expedient principle, but later discussion showed that injustice might be done. For example, the original commission might have awarded two claimants £1,000 each. But one award might be fair and the other unjustified. The commission of revision might uphold one and reduce the other by 75 per cent. Under the proposed arrangement both men would benefit equally, regardless of the justice of their claims. Accordingly Lord Bathurst directed a payment of five shillings in the pound to be made to every individual upon the sum which should be awarded by the new com-

¹Can. Arch., Q. 337-1, also Q. 332-2, and Q. 334, Galt to Horton, Feb. 10, 1823, declining to proceed with the transaction on the altered footing.

mission. This principle would not exhaust the whole of the £57,412 10s. owing to the reduced awards under the new commission. The government, however, was unwilling to afford less relief than had been actually promised. Maitland was therefore authorized to allow a certain percentage addition to each award under the new commission after the whole of the claims had been gone through. Here the assistance of the British government was to end unless the government of Upper Canada would apply an equal sum to satisfy the claims. "And you will also explain to the Legislature," wrote Bathurst to Maitland, "that should an additional sum be still found necessary after that payment on the part of the Government of Upper Canada, the British Government will consent to contribute towards that sum in the same proportion as the Legislature of Upper Canada agree to advance upon the exclusive security of the colony."¹

It was later agreed that a further loan of £100,000 should be raised, of which the British government would guarantee half the interest (£2,500 per annum), the province providing the remainder by levying special duties. On March 23, 1824, Galt wrote to Lord Bathurst that he had received from Upper Canada copies of resolutions passed by the Provincial parliament. Upper Canada was willing to impose new duties to raise the required £2,500, but direct taxation was impracticable, and the only method was for Upper Canada to acquiesce in the parliament of Lower Canada imposing new import duties at Quebec. The principal, of which Upper Canada was thus to provide the interest, Galt proposed should be raised in the United Kingdom. "Your Lordship is aware," he writes, "of what has taken place, seriously affecting me and my interests in the original proposal of a loan; I therefore humbly submit my hope that, as it will be obviously for the advantage of the colony to raise the money in this country, I shall be employed to effect it under the arrangement contemplated—

¹Bathurst to Maitland, Feb. 15, 1823. See *Autobiog.*, I., 361-2.

namely, on the colonial security only."¹ He was given permission to proceed with the transaction, and on April 12 he had made the preliminary arrangements.²

New difficulties, however, were in the way. The Assembly of Lower Canada, while admitting the sufferings caused by the war, declared that "the unfavourable state of commerce renders it impossible at present to bear the imposition of new taxes."³ Galt, still persistent, demanded what further plans the British government had to satisfy a debt "which justice as well as policy requires to be discharged." Horton, the Under-Secretary, in replying, reminded him of what the government had already done and of its readiness to do more *pari passu* with Upper Canada. "There," he concluded, "I understand the matter now to rest."⁴

Before the discussion of the loan had thus reached a deadlock Galt had conceived and proposed a plan which was to have far-reaching results. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and afterwards Viscount Goderich, had hinted that if Upper Canada could pay half the civil expenses of the province the government would discharge the claims of Galt's clients. In casting about for new methods of raising money in Upper Canada Galt was led to examine the natural resources of the province. It occurred to him that the sale of the Crown Reserves would provide a fund large enough to meet the claims of his constituents and also the other civil expenses of the province.

The soundness of this scheme was confirmed by Bishop Macdonnell, of Upper Canada, who visited Galt at Eskgrove

¹Can. Arch. Q. 337-1. It is pleasant to contrast with this official correspondence a letter from Galt to his boys in Scotland written at this time (March 18, 1824), "My dear little Boys, I wish very much that I was at home with you, I hope you continue good scholars and that you are kind to one another and obedient to Mamma. I shall be very glad to receive another letter from each of you, in which you will tell me what has happened since you wrote last and how far John and Tom are in the Bible."

²Can. Arch., Q. 337-1. Galt to Horton (April 12, 1824). Galt's correspondence on the loan is voluminous.

³Can. Arch., Q. 337-1, Horton to Galt (May 7, 1824) quoting the Assembly's resolution, which was passed on March 5, 1824.

⁴Can. Arch., Q. 337-1, Horton to Galt (May 13, 1824).

in December, 1823, where the latter had joined his family for a holiday from London worries.¹ On December 16 he sent letters by Macdonnell to both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to Horton advocating his plan. "I consider it a duty," he writes, "which I owe to my constituents to leave no suggestion untried until I shall have procured them justice."² Through Galt was unconscious of having been anticipated in his scheme, a similar suggestion had been made in 1818 by petitioners in Upper Canada.³ This does not detract from his credit, for he alone had the energy and persistence to carry the plan into effect in spite of long discouraging negotiations and hostile criticism.

The disposal of public lands had for years been one of the most important and vexatious questions in all the Canadian provinces. In Upper Canada lands had been granted with a recklessness and profuseness that bore no relation to the amount of settlement and cultivation. The population in 1824 was under 150,000, and yet about 11,000,000 acres had been granted or appropriated. Till 1804 these grants had been entirely free. After that date a slight fee was charged, and in 1818 certain settlement duties were also supposed to be performed. Much of this land had been granted to various privileged persons. Nearly 3,000,000 acres had been given to United Empire Loyalists and their children, and about 1,000,000 to militiamen and discharged soldiers and sailors. Cer-

¹Alexander Macdonnell (1762-1840), first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, emigrated to Canada with the Glengarry regiment, in the formation of which he had been instrumental.

²*Autobiog.*, I., 297-8.

³Can. Arch., Q. 340-1, Resolutions of the Township Representatives of the Midland Districts, June 15, 1818: Address to the Prince Regent: "During the war Upper Canada was exposed to the torrent of hostilities; twice did the raw battalions of militia wave the laurel of victory. . . . We are aware that taxes are heavy upon our fellow-subjects at home, and do not want aid from that source. Canada contains within itself ample means of exhonouring (sic) government from the claims of sufferers by war and it is within the fiat of your Royal Highness to remove by a single breath the evil now so justly complained of. Millions of acres of fertile land lie here, upon the credit of which, put under proper management, not only the fair claims of loyal sufferers could be satisfied, but vast sums might be raised for the improvement of the province and the eventual increase of revenue to Britain."

tain professional classes such as magistrates and barristers received grants of 1,200 acres, while 5,000 acres were granted to executive and legislative councillors, and 1,200 to each of their children. "The Province of Upper Canada," declared a Parliamentary Report in 1831, "appears to have been considered by Government as a land fund to reward meritorious servants." Of all the land thus granted probably not more than a tenth had been even occupied and a much smaller proportion reclaimed and cultivated. Much of it had fallen into the hands of speculators and land-jobbers.

The normal development of the province had been further retarded by the Clergy and Crown Reserves. The Clergy Reserves, created by the Constitutional Act of 1791 for the support of a Protestant clergy, consisted of a seventh of the land in each township. The Crown Reserves, of equal amount, had been made in order to produce a source of revenue for the Crown independent of taxation. These reserves were not merely allowed to lie waste, but their situation was such as to separate the actual settlers and to obstruct the progress of improvement.

It was this obvious failure in dealing with public lands which led the government to give Galt's scheme a hearing in the hope that persons whose financial interests were at stake would be more careful and therefore more successful in their operations. The success of the settlement on the shores of Lake Erie under Colonel Thomas Talbot (1771-1853) was a recent and encouraging precedent. Galt had now to persuade the government to a much larger delegation of its powers and to interest it in what he considered "the best and greatest colonial project ever formed."

At the request of the Colonial Office Galt drew up a plan of sale for the Crown Reserves which he submitted to Lord Bathurst (Feb. 17, 1824). With Horton's authority he sounded London capitalists on the possibility of forming a company and received a favourable answer. As a result of a meeting held at the Colonial Office the formation of a company was

proceeded with, and on April 12 a provisional committee was appointed with Galt for secretary.¹

He sent the good news to his wife the same day:

"MY DEAR BESS,—

"I have great satisfaction in letting you know that Mr. Wilnot informed me this afternoon that I am to negotiate the loan. . . . How much this may produce to me I cannot as yet know, but it will help to stop many ravenous gaps. . . . The loan, however, is the least of my objects now. I am carrying into effect the plan of selling the Crown Reserves of Land, gentlemen having come home officially so as to enable the Government to proceed according to my suggestion. The purpose on which I am employed is to raise £1,000,000, in shares, to constitute a Company, so that the period of my return is now indefinite. I shall write you more soon, but this was too good news to delay.

"Love to the dear boys,

Yours,

J. GALT.

"Say nothing of this to anybody."²

His confidence and optimism were thoroughly tested in the months which followed, months of correspondence, meetings, proposals and counter-proposals. The government hesitated to commit itself; the committee kept pressing for a definite

¹The committee consisted of John Hullett, Robert Downie, M.P., Henry Menteith, M.P., and Galt, with power to add to their numbers. See Can. Arch. Q. 339-2.

²The letter indicates Galt's financial worries. Letters to Tilloch reveal more than one cause for Galt's anxiety. Tilloch seems to have been in broken health and on the verge of bankruptcy. Galt could give him little assistance. On Feb. 2, 1824, he writes, "I am myself much troubled at present. . . . What adds to my perplexities is the obligation to pay next week a considerable bill that I was led to hope would have been renewed; all these things greatly unfit me for that constancy of application to my pen which my circumstances require. I have never felt myself so barren as of late." On Feb. 11 he writes again to Tilloch: "You have made settlements which you ought never to have done, especially ours. . . . It appears I owe you a great deal of money; I may be called on to pay that; and I ought not. When I arranged my affairs in 1820 your account should then have been closed. . . . There is only my health between my family and beggary, and I am at this time full of the most painful anxieties."

arrangement.¹ The official tone of the correspondence is occasionally relieved by Galt. "I do assure you," he writes to Horton on June 3 after an irritating interview, "that the gentlemen who have consented to lead in it are not actuated by any irrational expectations of great profits. They feel as men ambitious of character as well as of fortune should do, and they consider the views of the company, if carried into effect with energy and intelligence, calculated to confer honour on all its promoters."²

In their eagerness the committee drew up and printed a circular, setting forth the objects and prospects of the company and implying that government had agreed to the scheme and that only details remained to be settled. Such an assumption roused Horton's righteous indignation. "What possible right have you to say that the reserves are to be granted?"³ he demanded, and only consented to be soothed when Galt waited upon him with apologies for the committee's indiscretion.

The dragging on of the negotiations and the absence of his family were irksome to Galt whose thoughts often turned to Eskgrove and to the education of his sons. "I ought long ago to have answered your affectionate letters," he wrote to them on May 29, "and particularly about the pony, but I have been very busy indeed and wished to have something to tell you about when I might hope to see you or to be with you. I hope Mamma has not sold the pony, as I consider your having it a very necessary part of education, but if she has you must not repine. You are all very good and kind-hearted children and

¹Galt declares he "had discovered a visible reluctance in the Colonial Office to appear ostensibly connected with the proceeding until the bargain was concluded, by which he was much embarrassed, and obliged to act with greater delicacy than a public mercantile negotiation seemed to require" (*Autobiog.*, I., 304-5).

²Can Arch Q. 359-1. There are also occasional informal touches. On May 22 he writes to Horton: "Not wishing to trouble you at the office on this subject, if you are to be at the opera to-night, perhaps I may see you there. I shall be on the right hand side of the pit from the entrance."

³Can. Arch. Q. 359-1, Horton to Galt (June 18, 1824).

sensible to know that whatever I can afford for your improvement and happiness I will never withhold.

"Tom improves much in his writing, and Johnny's short letters are always to the purpose, as for Alexander, we all know that he is a perfect Solomon, and I am quite sure that King Solomon himself never knew half so much of Oxygen gas as he does. Be loving to one another and obedient to Mamma and write to me every Sunday."

At the end of June a definite proposal was submitted to Lord Bathurst, namely: "that the Company shall engage, for a period of fifteen years, to take up annually not less than 800 lots, or 160,000 acres of the crown and of the half of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada only, for which Government shall be paid £20,000 per annum certain; but for all above that quantity, which in any year the Company may find it expedient to take up, an additional sum shall be paid at the same rate (say 2s. 6d. per acre)."¹ Horton replied that far too low a value had been set upon lands which the Upper Canada legislature estimated at 4s. when uncultivated and at 20s. when cultivated. The proposal in short was "absolutely inadmissible."²

It was finally agreed that the proposed company should purchase and settle all the Crown Reserves and half the Clergy Reserves in the townships surveyed which were not sold, leased or occupied on March 1, 1824; that the value of the lands should be determined by commissioners to be sent out to Canada, a plan proposed earlier in the negotiations but discarded because of the inconvenience and delay involved; and that during a period of fifteen years the company should each year enter into possession of so much of the lands as, according to the valuation made by the commissioners, would amount to £20,000.³

¹Galt to Lord Bathurst, Can. Arch Q. 359-1, and *Autobiog.*, I., 303-4.

²Can. Arch. Q. 359-1, and *Autobiog.*, I., 363-7. Galt answered at length on July 8, maintaining that 2s. 6d. was a fair price.

³*Minutes of the Intended Arrangements between Earl Bathurst, His Majesty's Secretary of State and the Proposed Canada Company.* Imperial Blue Books on Affairs relating to Canada, Vol. 2.

By the end of July the company was at last formed, and a board of directors chosen, with Charles Bosanquet as chairman and Galt as secretary.¹ The next step was to choose five commissioners to value the lands. At the first meeting of the directors Simon McGillivray and Galt were elected to act for the company, each to receive £1,000 and expenses. The two appointed by Lord Bathurst were Lt.-Col. Francis Cockburn, who was to be senior commissioner and permanent chairman, and Sir John Harvey. The fifth, chosen by Lord Bathurst out of three candidates nominated by the company, was John Davidson, one of the Commissioners of Crown Lands in Lower Canada. Galt ranked fourth on the board, and as founder of the company felt slighted. "I am as ambitious of distinction as any man can be," he told Bathurst. To this protest Horton replied with calm indifference: "If you are the author, the adviser, the promoter and the accomplisher of the scheme of the Canada Company . . . and if you feel that thanks are due to you on that account, surely the expression of those thanks should proceed from that body of persons whose secretary you are and who ought to be grateful to you for your good deeds."²

Galt's hope in forming the company had been to provide funds for the claims of Canadian war-sufferers. This expectation was discouraged when he was curtly informed by the Colonial Office (Aug. 6, 1824), "that the money to be paid by the Canada Company was not considered by His Majesty's Government to be applicable to the relief of the sufferers by the late war with the United States."³ His further protests were unavailing, and henceforth his energies were given to the Canada Company as an independent enterprise.

On the eve of his departure for Canada with his fellow-commissioners, Galt made a proposal to the Colonial Office

¹Can. Arch. Q. 359-1, Galt to Bathurst (July 31, 1824), declaring that the company had been formed the day before.

²Can. Arch. Q. 359-1, Galt to Bathurst (Dec. 3, 1824). In an earlier letter (April 23) he had declared to Horton proudly, if not grammatically: "The plans of the company, etc., is altogether my own child."

³*Autobiog.*, I., 305.

which, though nothing came of it, is not without interest in the light of later events. He pointed out to Horton that the company, in spite of its large holdings in Upper Canada, had no legislative influence. Might it not be expedient to suggest to the Lieutenant Governor the addition to the Legislative Council "of some person intimately connected with the Canada Company, and if it should be deemed fit to make such a communication, I would further take the liberty of proposing myself as a candidate for the appointment."¹ This ambition supplies a curious comment on Galt's later declaration that he had no desire to interfere with colonial politics.

"Just off to-morrow evening for Plymouth," writes Galt on January 1, 1825. About three weeks later the commissioners were on the *Romney* man-of-war bound for New York, where they landed on February 25. On the voyage Sir John Harvey pleased Galt by reading a copy of *Ringan Gilhaize* which happened to be on board. Some of Galt's first impressions are described in a letter to his boys. "I wrote you a very long letter," he begins, "giving an account of everything that happened in our voyage to New York, and telling you of whales and Portuguese Men of War and other wonderful things. When I got that letter put on board a packet for England, I landed with some of the other gentlemen on an island

¹Can. Arch. Q. 359-1, Galt to Horton (Dec. 28, 1824). Horton answered (Jan. 6, 1825) that McGillivray had made the same request to Lord Bathurst, who had replied that such matters rested with the Lieut.-Governor. "If you wish it," Horton concludes, "I will lay your application especially before Lord Bathurst, unless you prefer writing to his Lordship yourself." See also G. 61, Horton to Maitland (Feb. 12, 1825): "Private and Confidential. Mr. Galt wishes to become a member of council in Upper Canada, and he founds his application to Lord Bathurst to assist him in this object on his having been instrumental in initiating the Canada Company, which we have admitted to be advantageous to the province. The answer is that in no case does Lord Bathurst ever interfere in the appointment of a member of council without the recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor. Now if you are of opinion that an objection would exist to this appointment, you may easily, if Mr. Galt introduces the subject to you, point out some practical inconvenience, either with relation to former promises or other claims, etc., which would prevent your recommending it. If on the other hand you have reason to anticipate no inconvenience, Lord Bathurst, on receiving your recommendation, would, I have no doubt, be disposed to confirm the appointment."

near New York called Long Island, which you will know where to find by your geography, and read of in the history of the American War. . . . We there hired a waggon to New York. The waggons in America are very light and handsome, and though not on springs are nearly as comfortable as carriages. In this waggon we were taken to a ferry which we crossed and were safe in New York in time for dinner, at which among other good things we got oysters as big as a child's hand and far better than anything of the kind I had ever tasted. New York is a very fine city about as large as Glasgow. The buildings being of brick are not so fine as those of Glasgow or Edinburgh in appearance, but it has one great edifice, the town hall, which is grander than anything either in Glasgow or Edinburgh."

On his voyage up the Hudson Galt fell in with a son of Alexander Hamilton who persuaded him to stay a few days at Albany.¹ Here he met Governor Clinton and his wife. Of the lady he thought highly both because of her resemblance to his mother and because of her admiration for the *Annals of the Parish*. On his way from Albany to Upper Canada Galt gathered information about the development of the country and the value of land. He rather prided himself on failing to see Niagara Falls. His servant reported there was nothing but a great tumbling of waters, and Galt was content with a chance view a mile or two below the cataract. "Weak imaginations easily cajoled by such things" is the complacent note in his journal.²

¹After leaving the boat the commissioners journeyed to Albany by carriage over roads on which the vehicles often sank axle-deep in mud. On the way Galt had his first sight of snake-fences. "Instead of walls and hedges," he writes to his sons, "the fields divided by zig zag layers of rough split timber which has a very bad effect." Mr. Hamilton, Galt's host at Albany, came of an Ayrshire family who lived at Grange near Irvine. Galt had been at school with two of the family.

²Galt kept a journal during his first and second visits to Canada which supplements in some points the narrative in the *Autobiography*. It is, however, very scrappy and the handwriting is at times illegible. It is amusing to compare with this verdict on the Falls a story Galt wrote for Fraser's Mag. (Aug., 1831), *The Early Missionaries, or The Discovery of the Falls of Niagara*, in which he describes them as "the most impressive spectacle of the kind to be seen on the whole earth." In *Bogle Corbet* (III., 217 f.) there is a discussion of the merits and shortcomings of the scene.

He had already begun to suffer from the ill-health which tormented him during the whole of his first visit to Canada. "Felt myself here very tired and full of aches—an all-overishness," he writes in his journal at Youngstown on the Niagara River.¹ On March 11 he embarked at Fort George² in the schooner *Industry* for York. We "had a terrible passage, a snow storm came on and the master was so drunk that, had it not been for an English sailor on board by chance, we must all have perished. I was twenty-four hours without food and all the time in very great danger and very sea-sick. The poor sailor stood at the helm till he fell from it and was several hours before he recovered. But, thank God, we got all at last safe on shore." At the Steamboat Hotel, a raw frame building fronting the harbour, he breakfasted and listened to the sounds of an Irish wake which was in full progress.³

"The general appearance of the town was such as I had expected," writes Galt in his journal, "but the place less considerable by at least a half than I was prepared to see." The capital of Upper Canada and the centre of the political and social life of the province, York was nevertheless sufficiently unimpressive in 1825, with a population of about two thousand, a low, marshy site and little commercial activity. Galt conceived an early and enduring dislike for the little place which he called "one of the vilest blue-devil haunts on the face of the earth."⁴

¹At Youngstown he chanced upon a crude universal history which described, among other things, the early struggles between Indians and emigrants. In Fraser's Mag. (Oct., 1830) he mentions this incident and relates a tale, *Cherokee, A Tradition of the Backwoods*, to illustrate the contents of the volume.

²The historical associations of Fort George are used for a tale by Galt in Fraser's Mag. (Feb., 1830).

³The hotel stood on Front Street, and on the beach below was a fish market. "The Steamboat Hotel, long known as Ulick Howard's, remarkable for the spirited delineation of a steam-packet of vast dimensions, extending the whole length of the building, just over the upper verandah of the hotel." Dr. Scadding's *Toronto of Old* (1878), p. 50. A scene in *Bogle Corbet* is laid in the hotel (vol. 3, chap. 2).

⁴*Autobiog.*, I, 334. T. A. Talbot in his *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas* (1824) thus describes the town: "The streets of York are regularly laid out, intersecting each other at right angles. Only one of them, however, is yet completely built; and in wet weather the unfinished

The commissioners began work on March 16. Colonel Cockburn and Sir John Harvey had reached York before Galt; McGillivray and Davidson soon followed. Lord Bathurst had given them written instructions, and on reaching Upper Canada they received from Sir Peregrine Maitland their commission under the great seal of the province. The sales of uncleared land for ready money in the five years preceding March 1, 1824, were to be their chief criterion in fixing prices. They were to settle an average value for each district. To enable them to gather information they were given power to summon all officers, civil and military, within the province. They were to hold meetings at least every two weeks, to draw up their report before leaving Canada and to state in it which lands in each township were to be sold to the company.

For about a month and a half the commissioners carried on their investigation, examining charts and interviewing members of the Provincial Legislature and others. Their report, signed at York on May 2, Galt's birthday, found that the company was entitled to 1,384,013 acres of Crown Reserves and 829,430 acres of Clergy Reserves. It was also the unanimous opinion of the commissioners that 3s. 6d. currency per acre was a fair price.

Galt's duties as a commissioner did not take all his time. His advocacy of the war losses in England had made his name well known in the province, and the chief personages of the little capital from Sir Peregrine Maitland down bestirred themselves to entertain the visitors. Galt's journal records various small incidents, such as the arrival on April 5 of Sir John Franklin and his officers on their way to the far northwest. During an expedition to Scarborough a few miles east of York he met David Thomson, the pioneer settler of the district, whose descendants are still to be found in the same neighbourhood. On April 23, the King's birthday, there was

streets are, if possible, muddier and dirtier than those of Kingston. The situation of the town is very unhealthy, for it stands on a piece of low marshy land, which is better calculated for a frog-pond or beaver-beadow than for the residence of human beings." On April 5 Galt enters in his journal: "Yesterday the frogs were heard."

a muster of militia, and in the afternoon Galt set out for Newmarket, some thirty miles to the north, a trip which made a pleasant break in the routine at York.

One incident, trifling in itself, was the forerunner of his later political difficulties in the province. Party spirit ran high in Upper Canada. The United Empire Loyalists who had settled the province had brought with them from the United States an intense loyalty to Great Britain, but also strong traditions of self-government. Sir Peregrine Maitland, with the instincts of an aristocrat and the training of a British officer, was opposed to the growing spirit of democracy, and his advisers were drawn from a group of able and patriotic men such as Beverley Robinson and Dr. Strachan who shared his feelings. The antagonism between the popular party and the government, which in a few years was to end in armed rebellion, was in 1825 growing very acute. The men who were afterwards to be reform leaders were coming to the front; among others, M. S. Bidwell, Dr. Rolph, and William Lyon Mackenzie. There were obvious reasons why Galt should ally himself more or less closely with the government party. His own political convictions leaned to the Tory side, and he and his fellow-commissioners had everything to gain by working in harmony with Maitland. Indeed, the formation of the Canada Company would strengthen the hands of the official party by providing large revenues free from the control of the Legislative Assembly.

Probably Galt had no intention of joining either party, but his habitual impulsiveness and a slightly contemptuous attitude towards these provincial disputes, which he looked upon as "borough squabbles, at most as a puddle in a storm," led him into difficulties. Among other courtesies shown to him was the gift of a complete file of the *Colonial Advocate*, the anti-government paper founded by Mackenzie in 1824. He acknowledged the present in a letter (March 28, 1825), which was to have unfortunate consequences.

"I am very flattered by your attention" wrote Galt, "and it gives me unaffected pleasure to receive the numbers you

have taken the trouble to preserve and send me of your spirited paper. I do undoubtedly dissent from some of your sentiments, but I can appreciate the talent with which they are supported. . . . I have been too short in this country to form any opinions of its political temperament, and I have besides been the greatest part of the time confined to my room by indisposition. . . . Probably in colonies and places remote from the Supreme Government, persons are apt to consider themselves as parts of that great abstraction, Government, and to mistake attacks upon their own conduct as factious and seditious movements. On the other hand, the motions and machinery of government being in a much smaller compass, are seen more in detail than at home, and the workings of personal feeling are apt in consequence to excite the more invidiousness. To this I would partly ascribe the tone of your letter to Mr. Robinson, which displays very superior powers indeed of sarcasm, but it must occur to yourself that the value of it would not have been lessened had some of the points been sheathed in softer language. But I ought to ask for pardon for this criticism when I should be thanking you for a flattering favour. You can have no better task than the upholding the frank, courageous spirit of independence among a remote people. It is that which has made the great Island of our birth what she is, and when we compare her small natural bounds and resources with the vastness of her moral and political dominion, we may rest assured that with all the faults of her public men, her government has been one of the greatest practical wisdom that has yet withstood the test of time and the prostrations of revolution and of war.”¹

¹Can. Arch. Q. 346-1. On May 1 he wrote to Mackenzie again entering the Canada Company as a regular subscriber for the *Colonial Advocate*, and asking for the paper to be sent to London. The reason for his choice was that Mackenzie's paper contained "more advertisements for the sale of land than any other paper in the province" (*Autobiog.*, I., 321). On March 30 Galt notes in his journal: "Colonial Advocate—spirited journal on the popular side, conducted by a Scotchman, W. McKenzie—the feelings of a Highlander and the industry of a Lowlander—a great deal of valuable information and personal observation may be collected from this journal. The plan of it in this respect I consider original and highly deserving of encouragement."

For the moment, however, nothing came of the matter, and the commissioners separated after a friendly farewell dinner. Cockburn, Galt and Davidson sailed from New York on the American packet *Cortes*, reaching Liverpool on June 5 after four weeks at sea. Their report was at once sent to the Colonial Office, and Galt's thoughts turned to his family in Scotland.

He was not to escape so soon, and months of discussion and dispute lay ahead. There were two causes of delay. In the first place, the Colonial Office found the report in many ways unsatisfactory, and though the company was given legal recognition, its charter was for the present withheld.¹ In the second place, the Church of England clergy in Upper Canada protested against the granting of the Clergy Reserves.

After some preliminary discussion between the Colonial Office and the company Sir Giffin Wilson was appointed to pass judgment on the report.² Galt found the months of waiting exceedingly irksome, for if the company should come to nothing many whom he had interested in the scheme would lose money. The shareholders grew daily more impatient, and he had no satisfactory explanation for them. "I really cannot afford," he wrote to Horton on October 3, "any longer to give my time to the further prosecution of a business of so little advantage." A few days later he was in Dover with Cockburn and Davidson, an anxious trio.

His state of absent-minded brooding led him into a ridiculous difficulty. While on the quay one day he walked aboard the packet, merely intending to cross the channel and return. Once at Calais, he seems to have forgotten his plan and found himself at an hotel with only a few shillings in his pocket. These were spent on a drive to Dunkirk, and he escaped from the Calais hotel by the original method of borrowing from the proprietor.

About this time Galt employed some of his enforced idleness in writing *The Omen* (1826), the autobiography of a

¹June 27, 1825, 6 Geo. iv. c. 75. An amending Act was passed in 1828.

²Can. Arch. Q. 361-1-2.

youth who grows up ignorant of his rank and parentage. Learning later that his father had been killed by his mother's lover, he goes abroad and there unwittingly falls in love with his sister. He is on the point of marrying her when his guilty mother reveals the secret.

The day was fix'd; for so the lover sigh'd,
So knelt and craved, he couldn't be denied;
When, tale most dreadful! every hope adieu,—
For the fond lover is the brother too.¹

The rest of the hero's life is made up of aimless wanderings and moody meditations. The book was reviewed in *Blackwood's* (July, 1826), by Scott, who praised the "beauty of its language" and the "truth of the descriptions." The critic in the *Scots Magazine* (April, 1826) was inclined to be satirical about this "history of a young man who is eternally pestered and reduced to a state of mind bordering on phrenzy, by supernatural intimations of impending horrors in his fate, he knows not why or wherefore." The little volume appeared anonymously and was ascribed to various people. Scott thought it was Lockhart's, and indeed it resembles *Matthew Wald* (1824) in its autobiographical form, and its wild ill-constructed plot.² If Scott had known the author we should probably have had from him some introductory remarks on the *Annals*. Like *The Majolo*, the story shows Galt's inability to write a tale of mystery and suspense.

On October 7 Sir Giffin Wilson presented his report to Horton, and a month later it was in the hands of the commission-

¹Crabbe, *The Borough*, Letter xx.

²Scott's *Journal* (Feb. 23, 1826). "Read a little volume called *The Omen*—very well written—deep and powerful language. Aut Erasmus aut Diabolus, it is Lockhart or I am strangely deceived. It is passed for Wilson's though, but Wilson has more of the falsetto of assumed sentiment, less of the depth of gloomy and powerful feeling." According to Moir the book was also ascribed to Maginn, Hamilton and Barry St. Leger. Galt was gratified by the discussion and says the secret was never discovered. In *The Last of the Lairds* (c. xxi.) he refers to "that mysterious little work, *The Omen*, in which the cabalistic sentimentality of our Northern neighbours has been so prominently brought out." The book was also noticed in the *Monthly Review* (March, 1826) which suspected the author to be a Scot.

ers. Wilson found that they had examined too little evidence, that they had made improper inferences from the evidence before them, and that the record kept of their proceedings was not in accord with their instructions. In reply to a protest from Galt, Cockburn and Davidson, Horton pointed out that no slur was cast on their character, nor was the price fixed necessarily an unfair one. But they had merely given an average price for the whole province instead of an average price for each district, and had in other important points failed to observe Lord Bathurst's instructions.¹

In the meantime the clergy had been active in bringing pressure to bear on the Colonial Office, even before the commissioners had left England.² In May, 1824, Strachan had suggested that authority to sell be granted to the corporation for managing the Clergy Reserves, of which he was chairman, rather than to the proposed Canada Company. While the commissioners were at York the Clergy Corporation drew up a petition to the Colonial Office pointing out various ill effects of the proposed grant and praying that the Reserves "may be withdrawn from the purchase contemplated by the Canada Company, and that no sale be made of such Reserves except by this Corporation with the concurrence of the Government."³

¹Can. Arch. Q. 361-2, Horton to Cockburn (Nov. 7, 1825) and Cockburn, Galt and Davidson to Horton (Nov. 10). There is a good deal of later correspondence on the matter. It was more than a business affair to Galt, who declares to Horton (Dec. 17) that he will not "permit any one whatever while there is the king and council to appeal to, and also Parliament, to exercise an irresponsible discretion ruinous to me as an individual; nor is it to be endured that the proceedings instituted against the Commissioners may be closed on the plea of official inconvenience." He implies that only evidence unfavourable to the commissioners has been taken, and ends by apologizing for any unbecoming phrases. "I have been obliged to dictate under great bodily anguish." Horton, amazed at his outburst, denies his implication. On April 20, 1826, the commissioners presented Bathurst with a long defence (Q. 368-1-2).

²Can. Arch. Q. 337-2, Strachan to Horton (May 15, 1824). After returning to York Strachan wrote to Maitland (Can. Arch. Q. 338-1, Jan. 7, 1825) pointing out that the Canada Company will take the good land in the Clergy Reserves and leave the worthless. He suggests that the clergy be represented on the commission for valuing the lands.

³Can. Arch. Q. 338-1, March 24, 1825. On May 16, 1825, Maitland sends Bathurst a copy of the agreement with the Indians.

A month later a definite alternative was proposed. Maitland arranged to purchase from the Chippawa Indians about 2,800,000 acres on the south-east shores of Lake Huron, and suggested to Bathurst that this tract should be offered to the company in place of both Crown and Clergy Reserves. He emphasized the advantages for both province and company of the new plan. A continuous tract would be easier and cheaper to manage; settlers could be given uninterrupted blocks; the opening of the land would be of great benefit to the province, and the payment by the company of even a very moderate price would relieve the British Government from the charge of the civil list of Upper Canada.

Maitland's dispatch was given to Beverley Robinson, the attorney-general of Upper Canada, who was bound for England on other business. He interviewed the Colonial Office on behalf of the clergy, and in the ensuing negotiations was in close touch with Horton and Sir Giffin Wilson. Archdeacon Mountain was also sent to London to uphold the petition against the intended sale of the Reserves.

While matters thus dragged on, Galt was summoned to Scotland in December, 1825, to his mother's bedside. A severe stroke of paralysis had affected both mind and body. She was able, however, to recognize her son, "and in the effort to express her gladness became awake, as it were, to her own situation, and wept bitterly, attempting with ineffectual babble to explain what she felt."¹ She lingered for several months and did not die till July 18, 1826. Galt's affection for his mother was deep and enduring, and the wrench of her death does not seem to have been greatly lessened by his mother's advanced age. In one of his last poems, *Irvine Water*, he tenderly recalls his early memories:

¹*Autobiog.*, I., 344-5. His mother was born in 1746. In a note to Horton (Dec. 2, 1825) Galt apparently refers to his mother's illness: "A domestic affliction and severe indisposition renders it doubtful when I may be again in London." He was there, however, by December 17. It is hard to date his trip to Irvine with his mother and sister. (*Autobiog.*, II., 231-2). Probably it occurred during a short visit to Scotland previous to December, 1825.

Well I remember all the golden prime,
When sleep and joy were night and day in time,
That to be drowsy on my mother's knee
Was almost sweeter than blest liberty.

He returned to London about the middle of December in poor health to face the weariness of official discussion and delay and the loneliness of his lodgings in the offices of the Canada Company.¹

A proposal made by the company in February, 1826, to appoint new referees was agreed to by Lord Bathurst, who, however, reserved the right to submit their decision to the Privy Council. A settlement seemed as far off as ever, and it was no wonder that Galt declared to Horton: "In point of fact, the establishing of the Canada Company undertaken in consequence of your letter of the 6th of February, 1824, has been the most vexatious, the most profitless, and the most laborious business I ever engaged in." No profits will make up for "the domestic privations which I have been obliged to endure, the reproaches I daily suffer, and the positive loss I must inevitably encounter."²

A short cut to agreement was at last found in May, 1826. Strachan, once more in England and fully authorized to negotiate on behalf of the clergy, was accepted by Bathurst as a referee to meet Galt, "with the understanding that if those parties can come to an uniform decision on the subject, his Lordship will not only not feel it his duty any longer to impede the granting of a charter, but will be happy to expedite such grant by any recommendation in his power."³

Galt and Strachan had soon reduced their differences of opinion to one point. In place of the Clergy Reserves Strachan offered the same number of acres in the Huron Tract and one

¹Writing to Cockburn (March 27, 1826), Galt complains of the expense caused by his detention in London; and admits the expense has been lessened by "the advantage I have had of occupying for myself and servant apartments belonging to the Canada Company," that is, Canada House, 13 St. Helen's Place. The company seems to have paid his claim (£125) and a later claim (£40).

²Can. Arch. Q. 368-1, Galt to Horton (Feb. 16, 1826).

³Can. Arch. Q. 369, Horton to Bosanquet (May, 1826).

hundred thousand acres over and above. Galt held out for a million acres. "In his view," wrote Galt to Horton, "I cannot concur, and neither my conviction of the justness of my own nor the circumstances which press for decision will permit me to go farther." Strachan's tone was less determined: "On the whole . . . I do not despair of coming to a final adjustment."¹ The adjustment was reached by Strachan and Bathurst yielding.²

At a meeting held at the Colonial Office on May 23 the following arrangements were made between the government and the company. In lieu of the Clergy Reserves, which at the price fixed by the commissioners would have cost £145,150 5s., the company was to receive a million acres in the Huron Tract for the same sum. A third of the purchase price was to be spent by the company in certain approved public works and improvements in the Tract; the remainder to be paid to the British government. The million acres were to be surveyed at the expense of government. The company was to be allowed sixteen years beginning July 1, 1826, for fulfilling their contract, the purchase money to be paid in annual instalments ranging from £15,000 to £20,000. In the year ending July 1, 1843, the company was either to take up all lands remaining or abandon its claim to such lands. Lord Bathurst was to take immediate steps to complete the charter.³ This arrangement did not interfere with the original agreement concerning the Crown Reserves, of which the company was to purchase 1,384,413 acres at 3s. 6d. per acre. The company was organized with a capital of £1,000,000.

Galt's own plans were for a time uncertain. On June 16 he writes to his wife: "I hope it will soon be determined whether I am to go to Canada or remain entirely here. I shall not lose a post in giving you the necessary information." In

¹Can. Arch. Q. 369, Galt to Horton (May 13, 1826) and Strachan to Horton (May 13, 1826).

²Can. Arch. Q. 369, Strachan to Bathurst (May 22, 1826), recommending that a million acres be granted.

³Can. Arch. Q. 368-1. The million acres were subsequently increased by 100,000 acres in compensation for districts rendered unfit for cultivation by swamps, lakes, or sandhills.

a letter to his boys of the same date he says: "I expect a letter from you every Sunday, that is, you are to write me on Sunday, whether Mamma has occasion to write or not, and you are also to send with your next letters a leaf out of each one's copy that I may see how you come on at school. You will also let me know in what books you are reading and all about your education.

"I do not know when I shall be in Scotland. I think you will probably all come here very soon, but when I cannot tell." A month later his sons were with him in London, apparently unaccompanied by their mother.

A royal charter incorporating the company was finally granted on August 19, 1826. A few days afterwards it was settled that Galt should go to Canada as soon as possible to select the part of the Huron Tract substituted for the Clergy Reserves.

During his final months in England Galt wrote *The Last of the Lairds* (1826). A letter to Moir (Jan. 23, 1826) shows that the book was then under way. "I am still very much harassed with the Canadian concerns. They are as yet undetermined; but I have been doing a little to the 'Laird,' and hope to be able to send a quantity of it by the next monthly parcel."¹ The shaping of the book seems to have given him great trouble. It was begun as an autobiography and then changed on Blackwood's advice, as *Sir Andrew Wylie* had been, to a regular narrative. "I have been in a state of the greatest excitement and irritation," he writes to Blackwood on March 2, "by the pressure of various public and private affairs. On Thursday last, before sending you, as I had intended, a portion of the 'Laird,' I read a part of it to a literary friend, and the effect on him made me throw the whole of it into the fire. This is the second time I have done so."² A few days later he sends two chapters to Edinburgh "after more cogitation than I ever bestowed on any subject." He

¹*Memoir*, p. xxxix.

²Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit. I., 456-7. On March 27 Galt wrote to Horton asking him "to frank the portions of a novel printing in Edinburgh".

was confident, however, that his story would be at least as graphic as anything he had previously done. Blackwood continued to feel uneasy and his criticisms finally roused Galt. "You will excuse me for remarking that I have been somewhat surprised at your letter. I know that it hath proceeded from your anxiety and friendship. The plan of the 'Laird' was finished before the writing was commenced. The object and purpose of the plan were to exhibit the actual manners which about twenty-five years ago did belong to a class of persons and their compeers in Scotland—the west of it—who are now extinct. The Laird himself is but one of the group. . . . In one word, my good friend, I should have thought by this time that you must have known that nobody can help an author with the conception of a character nor in the evolutions of a story. . . . The defects of the *Annals of the Parish* were not mine, though some of the omissions I acknowledge were judicious. *Sir Andrew Wylie*, the most original of all I have ever done, was spoiled by your interference, and the main faults of the *Entail* were also owing to my being over-persuaded. In one word, I would much rather throw the whole work a third time into the fire than begin to cobble any part of it on the suggestions of others. I do not know how it is, but I cannot proceed if I am interfered with. I know it is very silly to be so chary, but I cannot help it. It does *not* come of arrogance, but of confidence in myself. . . . Now don't be offended with my freedom."¹

Moir acted as peacemaker between author and publisher. To him Galt, on sailing for Canada, entrusted the task of putting the final touches to the story. The result of all this discussion and revision is disappointing. The Laird himself, modelled on the Laird of Smithstown whom Galt had visited with his grandmother, is well contrived and recalls Scott's Dumbiedykes. But the vulgar nabob and the heartless Mrs. Soorocks weary us by their profuseness, while the clumsy

¹Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit. I., 458-9.

loose-jointed plot is merely in the way. The best parts of the book are the quiet descriptions such as that of Auldbiggings.¹

"My present intention," Galt writes on September 4, "is to leave London on this day week for Scotland and to sail either from the Clyde or Liverpool on the 1st October."² On that day, however, he was still in London. "I leave town on Wednesday to embark. I should have been off this evening; but I have business to transact with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Tuesday, on which day he comes to town, so that I am actually running the risk of losing my passage."³ A few days later he was at sea.

¹The book was unfavourably noticed in the *Monthly Review* (Jan., 1827).

²Can. Arch. Q. 369, Galt to Horton (September 4, 1826). Two days later he sends a copy of his instructions to Horton. "Besides these instructions it is intended to give me a discretionary power, even before completing the object of my mission, to clear a number of lots and build houses on them in anticipation of settlers arriving in the spring." Horton in reply (Sept. 10) declines to accept any responsibility for the instructions, and considers them rather inadequate. The chief of them may be briefly summarized. Galt was to find out the best method of disposing of the Crown Reserves, whether by public or private sale or both, and on what terms the sales should be made. He was to obtain as full information as possible about the Huron Tract, to send the directors a description of the section he would recommend, and to endeavour to make arrangements with the provincial government for the laying out of the million acres. He was to study the methods of successful American land companies and to set down the results of his enquiries in a journal, a copy of which was to remain in Canada for the use of the company's officers; the original to go to London. He was to consider the best way of managing the company in Canada, to find fit persons for its servants, and to report progress to the directors. He was at liberty to call in assistance "with a due regard to economy," in addition to aid from the Warden of the Forests who was to be under his orders. "It is probable . . . that my mission will become executive," Galt writes to Horton (Sept. 12) "or rather be changed into that character when I shall have obtained knowledge enough of details to state to the Directors what I conceive ought to be done."

³Letter to Moir. Memoir p. xli.

CHAPTER IV

GALT IN CANADA, 1826-1829

"I did not feel myself entering seriously the arena of life," says Galt, "till I undertook my second mission to Canada." His previous ventures now seemed "mere skirmishing." His anticipations, however, were not entirely pleasant. A letter from Strachan headed, "Private and most confidential," which reached him a few days before sailing roused disquieting reflections.

"MY DEAR SIR,—

"I enclose three letters, one for Mrs. Strachan, one for the Attorney General and one for Major Hillier. The two last will place you, I think, on the best possible footing with these gentlemen, and I wish you to preserve it, so that I may be as you and I have been for some time. You must bear with me a little in pointing out the way. The conduct of Colonel Cockburn in leaving York and the manner in which he sent the results of your Commission to His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland could not be very pleasing. Other circumstances happened then and have since happened in the course of the negotiations not in themselves quite agreeable, from all which I am anxious that you should take, on going out, the proper line.

"This I feel assured you are disposed to take, but accustomed as you have been to the great political society in England, you are not sensible of the difference in a colony. In the British Parliament opposition is general not personal. In a colony such as ours opposition is commonly personal and bitter, though in the end, if met with firmness, altogether nugatory.

"Now I wish you to lay down as a principle never to be departed from that it is the interest of the Canada Company to support the Colonial authorities and never to take a side against them. Let me also advise you never to meddle in

Colonial politics, for one side or other you must by so doing offend, and so great and complicated are your interests that the determined enmity of any party would be productive of great loss.

"On the whole, do not hesitate a moment in making the Attorney General and Major Hillier your advisers in all your plans, and confide in none else.

"Converse with the Major oftener than write, and when to write is necessary prepare the draft with him before it is sent in officially.

"Sir Peregrine is extremely nice in his writing, I might almost say fastidious, and therefore everything ought to be well weighed.

"I can assure you the more confidence you put in those two gentlemen the better it will be for you, and the more satisfaction you will have in your mission. They are men in whose integrity you may rely upon to the utmost and of the first talents.

"I am sure you will take this letter in good part and see in it an anxiety to serve you,—the machine you have to conduct is complicated, and though your abilities are of a superior order I foresee that you will frequently require the assistance of me and my friends. But in order to receive that assistance, and indeed in order to enable us to give it, you must confide in us and in us only."¹

A meeker man than Galt might have been nettled by this mixture of condescension and threatening. Strachan, while advising Galt to take no side in provincial politics, obviously wished to attach him to the little group of able but undemocratic supporters of Maitland. The impression left on Galt was that he was regarded in Upper Canada with a distrust which Strachan wished to counteract by his friendly but irritating counsel. He neither answered nor destroyed the letter, but determined to await developments. His suspicions were strengthened by some parting words of caution from Horton.

¹Can. Arch. Q. 346-1. Major Hillier was Maitland's secretary.

Such apprehensions did not increase the pleasure of the voyage. By the middle of November he was in New York.¹ His journal notes the "lathy appearance of the inhabitants, sallow complexion, singular longitude of nose and chin." He stayed about ten days in the city, met various people of note, and made enquiries how emigrants might be sent on to Canada without delay and unnecessary expense.

On his way to York he obeyed his instructions by studying the methods of the Pulteney and the Holland land companies. He was impressed as on his previous journey by the initiative and shrewdness of the Americans as compared with the more sluggish Canadians. "The character of the Canadian mind is very speculative, and but little practical. The inhabitants talk wisely and ingeniously, but they seem to have no active power combined with that of volition. They are the reverse of the Americans who have but little theory, but are alive and alert to imitate any new mode of pursuing profit. . . . The Americans work their salt mines. The Canadians talk of their salt springs."² The same contrast struck Lord Durham a dozen years later.

Galt arrived in York on December 12, and took up his old dismal quarters in the Steamboat Hotel. His apprehensions as to his reception soon proved to be well founded.

Various circumstances combined to attach suspicion to Galt in the eyes of Maitland and his advisers. Before leaving England he had shown some courtesy to Dr. Rolph, a leader of the Reform party in Upper Canada, and therefore obnoxious to the Lieutenant Governor. Rolph had come to London to oppose a bill for the naturalization of Americans, and through Galt obtained a promise from the Colonial Office

¹The first entry in his journal referring to New York is dated November 16. The Upper Canada paper, the *U. E. Loyalist*, states (Dec. 2, 1826), "Mr. Galt, secretary to the Canada Company, has arrived in the ship *Brighton* from London."

²Galt's Journal, April 8, 1825. Galt contributed to *The Canadas* (1832), a compilation for the use of emigrants by Andrew Picken, a "summary relative to the Land Speculations by which the Genessee country and Western Territory of New York were settled." *Lawrie Todd* also deals with the early development of this country.

that certain provisions should be modified. He returned to Canada apparently satisfied. Galt, however, found him at York about to bring in an independent measure. On the day of his arrival, while delivering letters to Maitland, Galt complained of Rolph's conduct and spoke of petitioning the House of Assembly against his bill on the ground that anything which unsettled conditions in the province was injurious to the interests of the Canada Company. Impulsive as usual, he sought out Rolph and reproached him with his shiftiness, and also mentioned to Robinson and Hillier his intention of petitioning. This readiness to interfere in political matters did not commend itself to Maitland who wrote to Galt next day, pointing out that his proper course was to state his objections and leave the matter in the Governor's hands. He advised Galt to avoid communication with opposition members. "You must perceive," he concluded, "how solicitous I am to avoid all occasion of difficulty, and to remove every obstacle to the most candid communication, when I have availed myself of the first occasion thus fully to express my sentiments upon a subject of no common delicacy, and I think it right to go a step further, and to observe that it is only by your abstaining altogether from mixing in local politics, that a good understanding can be insured; for I must frankly confess that the impressions I have received from past occurrences would be very apt to dispose me to put an unfavourable construction upon such interference."¹

In replying, Galt declared that he had no disposition to meddle with politics, and that he was at a loss to know what past occurrences could have offended the Governor. After another exchange of letters Maitland gave an explanation of his reference to Galt's previous conduct. He first blamed Galt for having taken, while in York as a commissioner, too active

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 11. Among the past occurrences Maitland no doubt remembered Galt's ambition to become a member of the Legislative Council. Galt himself always thought that the *Quarterly* review of his *Voyages and Travels* told against him in Canada. "I have now reason to believe that those who abused the ear of Sir Peregrine Maitland to my prejudice were misled respecting my principles by what was said of me in the article respecting my *Voyages and Travels*." (*Lit. Life*, I., 91.)

an interest in public matters not connected with his enquiry. He next charged him with having misrepresented the Provincial Government in his correspondence with the Colonial Office. The third indictment was of a more definite sort. During the interval between Galt's first and second visits to Canada the personalities in the *Colonial Advocate* had become so unrestrained that Mackenzie's office had been raided and his printing press wrecked. In a suit for damages he had produced in his defence the two letters written to him by Galt. On landing in New York Galt had heard of this, and at Niagara (Dec. 10, 1826) he addressed an indignant protest to Mackenzie:

"SIR,—

"On my arrival in America I heard with extreme surprise that you had produced in a late action for damages a letter from me, commending the manner in which you conduct the *Colonial Advocate*.

"You had, sir, the courtesy, when I was last in the province to send me a file of your paper, and I returned of course a civil note for the present—the contents of that note I do not recollect, but as my political sentiments differ from yours, I cannot conceive how any expression of mine even complimentary to your talents, could imply that I approved of the style and temper of the *Colonial Advocate*.

"As I wish my political opinions not to be misunderstood, I should be obliged to you to publish this, together with the letter produced in court."¹

The letters which Mackenzie had used had left upon Maitland's mind an exaggerated and distorted impression. He found in them "warm commendations of the talent displayed in attacks upon my government, and . . . intimations . . . as to the manner in which attacks might be made with greater caution and equal effect."² Maitland closed the correspondence by declaring that he would allow no past in-

¹Can. Arch. Q. 346-1.

²*Autobiog.*, II., 20. Galt sent a copy of the whole correspondence to Horton.

cidents to prejudice him against Galt and that he would endeavour to aid the Canada Company in every way.

This was not a very encouraging beginning. Having seen the result of his previous unsuspecting conduct, Galt in the future held himself reserved and aloof.¹ He turned with relief to his work, and after registering the company's charter at York, proceeded to Lower Canada for the same purpose.²

In the beginning of January he went to Montreal and then to Quebec, where the provincial Parliament was in session. Here he once again interested himself in the claims of Canadian war-sufferers, and presented a fruitless petition to the House of Assembly "with all the blandishments in his power."³

The month at Quebec was the happiest Galt spent in Canada. It brightened, he said, "the sombre hue of a varied life in which the shade has ever most prevailed." The escape from the narrow political world of little York to a city of nearly 40,000 was in itself pleasant. So also was the change from the suspicions and stiffness of Maitland to the frankness and courtesy of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General. In some lines written a short time before his death Galt recalled how Dalhousie's kind welcome had encouraged him to face the difficulties of his position.

Cheer'd by the shelter then bestow'd,
I dar'd a dark and drifted road.

The worth of gift or grant, my Lord,
Can ne'er in sterling well be known:
The value of the heart'ning word
Is in the kindness of the tone.

¹This reserve also led to misunderstandings. "I have just received a biographical sketch of me published at York drawn up in a friendly spirit, but it speaks of me as playing 'Captain Grand,' and looking down on the inhabitants of Upper Canada. The fact is, I never thought about them, unless to notice some ludicrous peculiarity of individuals." This self-contradictory note is in the *Autobiography*, II., 51.

²Can. Arch. Q. 369. Galt writes to the company directors (Dec. 28) with more tact than truth that he has every reason to be satisfied with the Provincial Government. "Business presses upon me here," he adds, "and I am in no condition yet to take it up regularly." He had already received 130 applications for land.

³Can. Arch. Q. 371, Galt to Horton (Feb. 5, 1827).

Galt was accompanied on his trip to Quebec by a notable member of his staff. William Dunlop (1792-1848) had first come to Canada as an assistant surgeon during the War of 1812, and had become known for his genial eccentricities and reckless bravery. Returning to England at the close of war, he soon afterwards went to India where his skill in big-game hunting won him the nickname "Tiger." Later he was intimate with the Blackwood group in Edinburgh, and wrote an account of his Indian experiences for "Maga." In 1826, when the Canada Company was formed, Dunlop was leading a varied life in London, turning his hand to journalism of all kinds. He was appointed Warden of the Forests for the company and was sent out ahead of Galt to begin surveying. Six feet three in height, with a mass of red hair, a "Titanic bray" of a laugh, and an endless store of anecdotes, Dunlop was a tempting subject for caricature. A drawing by Maclise in *Fraser's Magazine* shows him seated, a tiger's head looking down at him from the wall and on the table behind him a tumbler and two decanters—an indication of the failing which, though finally overcome, shortened his life. He and Galt made a conspicuous pair of Scots.¹

Both Galt and Dunlop took part in amateur theatricals contrived by the Quebec garrison. With help from others Galt wrote a farce, *Visitors, or a Trip to Quebec*, in which well known local characters were ridiculed; among them, Philemon Wright, the famous pioneer of Hull township, who later served as model for Mr. Hoskins in *Lawrie Todd*. Dunlop acted the part of a Highland chieftain with immense success. The skit was apparently never printed. About a year

¹*Fraser's Mag.* (July, 1832), reviews Dunlop's *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the use of Emigrants, by a Backwoodsman* (1832), an amusing and interesting book. The article also gives a vivid sketch of Dunlop's career. See also *Blackwood's Mag.* (Oct., 1832). Strickland's *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West* (1853) tells many anecdotes about Dunlop, and he is also frequently mentioned in MacTaggart's *Three Years in Canada* (1829). The Misses Lizars' book, *In the Days of the Canada Company* (1896), has a full and racy account of Dunlop, his friends, his hospitality, his liquor-stand holding a dozen bottles christened the "Twelve Apostles," and his famous will, the humour of which reminds one of the broader fun in Galt's novels.

later while in New York Galt wrote another farce, *An Aunt in Virginia*, which appeared in narrative form in Blackwood's (Jan. and Feb., 1833) under the title *Scotch and Yankees*.

A letter to Moir tells of another incident during his stay at Quebec. "It is the practice here for the country people on the other side of the St. Lawrence to cross in canoes, even while the ice is hurling up and down on the tide. I was induced, without duly considering the risk, to accompany a friend who has a country seat on the other side: we had eight rowers in the boat, or rather canoe—we laid ourselves down in the bottom, and were launched like a shuttle in the loom down 'the glass brae' of the shore. The boatman then began to sing their hum-drum songs; away we went—when a vast sheet, some acres wide, of ice caught us; in a moment out leapt the men—drew the boat on the ice—hailed us over, and launched us in the water on the other side—in they were again, and again at their paddling and singing. This was repeated three times before we landed. In the evening, when we returned, the ebb was running at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and we were caught in a floe. . . . The pieces surrounded us, the boatman could get no footing on them; fortunately I never thought of the ice that we were in being in motion, but imagined that what was fixed was moving up. The sun was in the verge of the horizon, and the thermometer at more than 10 below zero, and we were drifting away below the city. We were at least five miles out of our course before I suspected our danger—for it is no joke to be frozen to death; at last the ice had the humanity to separate, and we got into clear water under a beautiful cliff of ice, some twenty or thirty feet high, crowned on the top with sparkling stars. The effect of the setting sun on the icicles was more brilliant than you can imagine. It was just dark when we landed."¹

Signs of spring were visible in Upper Canada when he returned early in March to enter seriously upon his duties. His mission had originally been merely one of enquiry and was to be completed in eight months. He now requested that

¹*Memoir*, pp. xlii-xliii.

the time be extended and that he be made superintendent of the company, in order that he might deal with the applications for land which were coming in. The directors assented, and Galt became superintendent with a salary of £1,611 2s. 2d., including allowances. He was left to pick up what clerks he could, and had no accountant till the middle of 1828.

He set himself to the toilsome but congenial task of working out a system for the disposal of lands based on the principles followed by the Pulteney and Holland companies. Plans for settlement were made and the site for a town chosen, but the year was still too young for outdoor operations. Galt accordingly paid a short visit to New York, where he appointed J. C. Buchanan agent for the company.¹ The trip was rendered interesting and almost perilous by a sudden thaw. "The scene which the valley of the Mohawk presented cannot be described. It was an elegant extract from the universal deluge; for leagues and miles the whole country was up to the neck in water, and countless cataracts were pouring from all the hills—not certainly quite so vast as Niagara, but many of them would not have shamed the Cora of the Clyde at Lammas flood. What have the Yanky poets to do with *translating* European descriptions? There was more originality of poetry in the business of that morning than in all the rhyme they have yet published."²

The founding of Guelph is the most vivid incident of Galt's work in Canada. The name was in honour of the royal family, and the date set for the start of operations was St. George's Day, April 23. "This was not without design; I was well aware of the boding effect of a little solemnity on the minds of

¹Can. Arch. Q. 371, Galt to Horton (New York, April 7, 1827), says he has made arrangement for the transportation to Canada of emigrants landing in New York. He suggests a scheme for bringing out servants and would like to see "the establishment of an aristocracy" and the discouragement of the "singular growth of Americanism." He issued a prospectus at New York setting forth the advantages of the company. No encouragement was to be given to speculators, but only to sober and industrious settlers with families.

²Galt to Moir (Aug. 1, 1827). *Memoir*, xlv.

most men, and especially of the unlettered, such as the first class of settlers were likely to be, at eras which betokened destiny, like the launching of a vessel, or the birth of an enterprise, of which a horoscope might be cast.”¹

On April 22 he met Dunlop at a little town on the Grand river about eighteen miles from the proposed site of Guelph. The settlement, originally called Shade’s Mills, was now re-christened by its founder, William Dickson, a Scottish pioneer who had come to Canada in 1792. Henceforth the place was called Galt. The next morning the party set out. Galt and Dunlop soon lost their way in the woods, and wandered up and down till they found a hut inhabited by a Dutch shoemaker who set them on the right path. “With his assistance we reached the skirts of the wild to which we were going, and were informed in the cabin of a squatter that all our men had gone forward. By this time it began to rain, but undeterred by that circumstance, we resumed our journey in the pathless wood. About sunset, dripping wet, we arrived near the spot we were in quest of, a shanty, which an Indian who had committed murder had raised as a refuge for himself. . . . We found the men, under the orders of Mr. Prior, whom I had employed for the Company, kindling a roaring fire, and after endeavouring to dry ourselves, and having recourse to the store-basket, I proposed to go to the spot chosen for the town.” The little party set forward, Dunlop having exchanged his wet clothes for two blankets, one worn as toga and one as kilt.

“It was consisent with my plan to invest our ceremony with a little mystery. . . . So intimating that the main body of the men were not to come, we walked to the brow of the neighbouring rising ground, and Mr. Prior having shewn the site selected for the town, a large maple tree was chosen, on which, taking an axe from one of the woodmen, I struck the first stroke. To me at least the moment was impressive—and the silence of the woods, that echoed to the sound, was as the sigh of the solemn genius of the wilderness departing for ever.

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 54.

"The doctor followed me, then, if I recollect correctly, Mr. Prior and the woodmen finished the work. The tree fell with a crash of accumulating thunder, as if ancient Nature were alarmed at the entrance of social man into her inmost solitudes with his sorrows, his follies and his crime." The solemnity was dispelled by Dunlop who pulled out a flask and pledged the future city in Canadian whisky.¹

Parts of the famous maple were preserved by the early settlers as souvenirs. In 1828 by Galt's orders the stump was fenced round by Major Strickland, and when the top was levelled and fitted with a sun dial it served as town clock for many years. About 1843 it gradually fell into decay, and its site is now covered by the embankment at the south-west end of the bridge spanning the river, which was christened by Galt, the Speed. A story of doubtful authority says that when the tree was felled Prior laid his hand on the stump, and indicated the future street-plan by spreading his fingers. Whether this is legend or fact, the streets radiate like the sticks of a fan from this point.²

Chopping, clearing and building were the first tasks in the new settlement. With the intention of attracting settlers Galt included a schoolhouse among the first structures undertaken. Storehouses and sheds for the Company were also essential. Galt's house, completed in the following spring, and called *The Priory* after Prior who had charge of the operations at Guelph, still stands.

During the progress of this work Galt returned to York, where he was soon at odds once more with Maitland. The only road between York and Guelph at that time was a circuitous one passing through Dundas and Galt. A storehouse at the head of Lake Ontario would be in a more central posi-

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 56 ff. Compare the founding of Judville in *Lawrie Todd*. "When we reached what was destined to be the centre of the town, the axemen or choppers cleared the brush or underwood from around a large tree, and . . . the old gentleman took an axe and struck the first stroke. . . . I struck the second, and so it went round, until the tree fell with a sound like thunder, banishing the loneliness and silence of the woods for ever."

²*Annals of the Town of Guelph*, by C. Acton Burrows (1877).

tion for the company's lands. Supplies could be sent to such settlements as Guelph, and payments in produce could be received there from intending purchasers. Galt therefore resolved to apply for a grant of land on the shores of Burlington Bay.¹

His official application was accompanied by a letter to Major Hillier (May 3, 1827) which had unfortunate results. The chief cause of offense was one sentence: "I should be exceedingly glad to have it in my power to say that the three or four acres would be *given* to the Company, for I do assure you that various circumstances have made many connected with the Company not at all satisfied with the opposition which it is conceived has been shewn towards the general interests of the incorporation, as it now is, from influential persons in this province." He admitted that he himself had seen no cause for such dissatisfaction, but at the same time warned the government that any unfavourable action on their part would be thwarted by the political power of the directors in England. In conclusion, he touched upon his own position, and declared he had been the victim of "falsehoods, the invention of which only served to prove the ignorance of the inventors as to the character of an individual, who from his very boyhood has neither been obscure nor in his sentiments equivocal."²

This tone of defiance and threatening was scarcely appropriate when asking a favour. Hillier replied (May 14) that

¹The place is described by Galt in *The Hurons—A Canadian Tale*, (*Fraser's Mag.*, Feb., 1830). "At the head of Lake Ontario a long, narrow strip of land separates its clear waters from a smaller expanse, generally known by the name of Burlington Bay. Along the northern part of the beach, as this strip is called, close under the residence of Brant, the Mohawk chieftain, a number of detached, picturesque trees grow upon the sand, curiously festooned with gigantic vines interwoven among their branches; and in the ground beneath, at short intervals, are many square artificial hollows, the remains of a fortified camp of a party of the Huron Indians who resisted the original invasion of their hunting grounds, when the French first attempted to establish military posts in that remote wilderness." See also MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada*, I., 303. "Burlington Bay with the adjoining country is the loveliest place in civilized Canada." For Brant, see Galt's account of their former meeting in London, *Autobiog.*, I., 283f.

²Can. Arch. Q. 344-1. Also *Autobiog.*, II., 66-68.

the application would be laid before the Executive Council, that the government felt most friendly towards the company, and that it would be well if all their future correspondence were submitted to the Colonial Office. In approving of this suggestion, Galt could not help referring again to the "invidious jealousy with which he is watched in his visits, his correspondence, and conversation." The grant was made on June 8, but even in his letter of thanks Galt could not keep away from his own concerns. "Feeling deeply and resenting strongly the imputation of being a favourer of discontent and a meddler (*sic*) in politics, Mr. G. will not allow any repetition of the charge even by hypothetical construction to pass unnoticed."¹

That Maitland was nettled by this rough-tongued, irritable Scot is not surprising. We may believe his declaration to Bathurst that, while anxious to work smoothly with the company he found the superintendent very difficult.

In the meantime Galt was glad to obtain his grant, and apparently considered the incident closed. His next task was to make himself familiar with the Huron Tract. Dunlop, assisted by John Brant, the Mohawk chief, and others, explored and surveyed this wilderness. Their hardships were extreme, and the story went the round of the American papers at one time that they had all been murdered by Indians. Galt set out from York probably early in June, and travelled by Yonge Street to Newmarket. They descended the Holland river and crossed Lake Simcoe "with singing boatmen—a race fast disappearing. The passage of that lake is exceedingly beautiful, but not picturesque. We met in the twilight of the dawn with a canoe full of Indian children, piloted by a negro. They were gliding over the glassy water between us

¹Can. Arch. Q. 346-1, Galt to Hillier (June 11, 1827). Also Q. 371, Galt to Horton (June 2, 1827): "I have no cause to be dissatisfied in my business with the local authorities; but my own situation is not an agreeable one, for, to use a conciliatory phrase of Sir P. Maitland, there is 'a ready and credulous ear' open to my disadvantage. Before my arrival in Little York I had been vain enough to believe that my political principles were pretty well known, and that I had always been a faithful and consistent subject."

and the waning, like imps and their leader, as silent and as solemn as spirits.”¹

By a narrow forest track they crossed overland to Penetanguishene, where the Admiralty had placed a gun-boat, the *Bee*, at their disposal. After some delay due to unfavourable winds, they reached Cabot's Head, “a woody stretch of land not very lofty, lying calm in the sunshine of a still afternoon.” The next day they sighted a cottage in a small clearing, and on approaching were met by a canoe filled with “a strange combination of Indians, velvetens and whiskers, and discovered within the roots of the red hair the living features of the Doctor.”²

The place had been chosen by Dunlop as the site of the future town of Goderich, named in honour of the Secretary of State.³ Their landing was celebrated by a bottle of champagne which Dunlop had hoarded for the occasion. The morning was spent in exploring the river, later renamed the Maitland, and its bordering meadows, which recalled quiet English landscapes. They tried to reach Detroit in time for the 4th of July celebrations, but failed by a few hours. Galt was, however, gratified by his reception. “The Americans,” he wrote to Moir, “were very civil to us at Detroit. When we entered the theatre one of the players recognized me, and the orchestra forthwith were instructed to play a Scotch air.” At Niagara Falls they met Captain Basil Hall, the friend of Scott.

After a short stay at York he went on to inspect the work at Guelph. Here he was visited by Bishop Macdonnell who selected the lofty site on which the Catholic church now stands. Some Edinburgh friends also came, with whom he rode to Galt and voyaged down the Grand river in a scow, an experience afterwards utilized in *Lawrie Todd*. He returned to York by way of Brantford and “the pretty breezy town of Ancaster on the hill.”

¹Galt to Moir, (Aug. 1, 1827), *Memoir*, xlvii.

²*Autobiog.*, II., 79.

³The name had been intended for Guelph by the directors who were not too pleased with Galt for upsetting their plan.

About this time Galt settled himself at Burlington in order to be nearer Guelph, the scene of the company's chief activities. But he was no more secure from vexation here than at York. On July 29 trouble arrived in the form of a body of emigrants from New York who had come to make arrangements for the reception of themselves and their companions who were following. These unfortunate people had left England in 1825 for La Guayra, Venezuela. There they were disappointed in the climate, the soil, and the political conditions. An appeal for help brought out a British frigate under the command of Sir Peregrine Maitland's brother who offered to transport them to Canada. At New York they were received by Buchanan, who was vice-consul as well as agent for the Canada Company, and sent by him to Galt. Altogether they numbered 135, of whom 58 were under 13 years of age.

Their destitution demanded prompt action. Galt decided to aid them and the company by settling them at Guelph. The day after their arrival he wrote to Horton: "I have ordered a house to be constructed for their reception, the receiving house of the company being occupied by eighteen families and all the other houses yet habitable being full." Such as were able-bodied were to be set to work. On the same day he wrote to Hillier, enclosing his letter to Horton.¹

To provide accommodation for the La Guayrians money was needed, and Galt had no funds. His solution of the difficulty proved a fruitful source of trouble. A payment to the Government from the company was just due. "I have therefore resolved," he told Horton, "to withhold £1,000 from that payment for which I will account to the company, and it can afterwards be settled with Government either in London or in

¹Can. Arch. Q. 371, Galt to Horton (July 30, 1827), and Q. 344-2, Galt to Hillier (same date). Galt says he waited some time for Maitland's orders, but received no answer from Hillier. It seems clear, however, from his letter to Horton that he formed and followed a definite plan of his own almost immediately. After Galt's resignation the emigrants received no further aid from the company and their settlement was broken up. The last of them, David Stirton, died in 1908. (See *The Last of the La Guayrians*, by C. C. James, in the Ontario Historical Society's *Publications*, vol. xv.)

this country, unless the Lieutenant Governor sees fit to relieve me from the consequences of this unforeseen emergency."¹

Galt's action pleased nobody. The Provincial Government, the Colonial Office, the company directors, and even the emigrants themselves all had objections. Maitland wrote to the Colonial Secretary expressing strong disapproval; the directors fell in line with the Colonial Office, and Galt was ordered to pay the £1,000 which he had withheld.²

There had also been minor causes of friction. Galt had appointed August 12 as a public holiday in Guelph in honour

¹Can. Arch. Q. 371, Galt to Horton (July 30, 1827). On August 21 he writes to Horton that nine of the families have reached Guelph and that eleven more are on the way. Fifty acres have been given to each family at the general price fixed for Guelph lands (\$2.00 per acre). The emigrants are working off the purchase price in road-making, etc. The children have been put to school. On September 22 he writes that more have arrived and have received the same treatment. Galt planned to form a model settlement with the La Guayrians to extend four miles along the Elora road.

²There is a great deal of correspondence on the La Guayrians. See Can. Arch. Q. 344-2, Maitland to Goderich (Oct. 17, 1827); Q. 371, Galt to Horton (Nov. 8, 1827), defends his action on three grounds: first, the British consul in New York had sent the emigrants to Guelph and had paid their travelling expenses; second, they had reached Galt in a destitute condition, and when he was 40 miles away from York and unable to consult Maitland; third, that he at once informed the Provincial Government of what he had done. Q. 371, A. Stanley to Maitland (Nov. 7, 1827), authorizing him to afford emigrants indispensable relief, "letting it be distinctly understood that you disavow any claim which Mr. Galt may feel disposed to make in consideration of any expense hitherto incurred on their account." Much of the discussion was as to whether Buchanan in forwarding the emigrants had acted as British consul or agent for the Canada Company. Four of the settlers petitioned against the company and asked for a grant of land from the Crown. This seemed to Galt the basest ingratitude. "I cannot but consider it," he wrote to Hillier (Q. 346-2, Dec. 26, 1827), "as belonging to that singular series of coincidences which from the moment I first had the misfortune to set my foot in this province has embittered my life. Only imperative motives of humanity, which even crime can command, will prevent me after 12 o'clock to-morrow from giving orders to turn these absurd persons adrift in the woods." At the beginning of 1827 Maitland sent two commissioners to question the emigrants as to their expectations in coming to Canada. Finally the matter was laid before the Executive Council which decided (Jan. 29, 1828) that the emigrants had reached New York under government auspices, that their expenses to Guelph had been paid by government, but that Buchanan in furnishing them with Canada Company way-tickets had acted as company agent and not as consul, that Galt had no authority to interfere with the disposal of government settlers and that his defence was inadequate.

of the King's birthday, and the formation of the Canada Company. An ox was roasted whole and carried into the market houses then in course of erection. Here some two hundred guests, whose enthusiasm was stimulated by the passing of pails of whisky, listened to speeches by Galt, Dunlop, Prior and others. Galt himself proposed Maitland's health and spoke of his willingness to aid the company. But ill-natured rumour declared that the Governor's name had been omitted from the toast-list. From trivial and from serious causes the suspicion attached to Galt continued to grow.¹

Matters were clearly reaching a crisis, and Galt debated whether he would hand in his resignation. He had, however, already written to his family to join him in Canada. Another circumstance also dissuaded him and gave him hopes of pleasanter relations with the Lieutenant Governor. He was informed by Colonel Coffin, the head of the militia department, that Maitland wished to give him the command of a regiment. So pleased was Galt that he resolved to show a little more cordiality to the inhabitants of York, and began to make arrangements for a fancy-dress ball.

In the midst of his preparations came a rebuke from the directors for the correspondence with Maitland about Burlington Beach. They enclosed a resolution: "That the Court disapproves the tone as well as the substance of these letters; they being alike unauthorized by any proceeding of this Court, and that the Directors disclaim the opinions ascribed by Mr. Galt to 'many connected with the Canada Company.'" While blaming Galt for his dealings with the Provincial Govern-

¹Guelph, though only four months old, already boasted three taverns filled with boarders, and a regular mail-coach twice a week. There was even talk of starting a newspaper. A circular issued in London by the company (Feb. 1, 1828) gives a glowing picture of the settlement. Roads from adjoining townships have been opened; sites for churches and burying grounds are given free to all denominations; about 200 town lots and 16,000 acres have been engaged, and 76 houses built or in course of erection; a saw-mill, and brick-kiln are in operation, and a grist-mill is partially completed; a market-house, several stores, and a permanent schoolhouse have been founded. The circular expresses a needless fear that with the clearing of the forests the climate will become so mild and the snow fall so slight as to ruin the winter roads.

ment, the directors expressed undiminished confidence in his zeal on behalf of the company. The incident shows, among other things, the disadvantage of absentee directors who tried to manage important and intricate concerns from the distance of St. Helen's Place. The reproof was as surprising to Galt as it was gratifying to Maitland.¹

Galt's first step was to seek an interview with Maitland, "for," as he wrote to Hillier, "it is no longer becoming the justice due to myself nor prudent under the hazard of probably impending humiliation that evident misunderstanding should be perpetuated and error allowed to grow up into grievance."² Maitland received him with guarded official manner and admitted that he had complained to the Colonial Office. Galt's next step was to send his resignation to the chairman of the directors, leaving him at liberty to present it to the board or not. He learned subsequently that Bosanquet withheld it.

He then set about drawing up a formal explanation and defence of his relations with the Provincial Government. To strengthen his case he determined to produce the letter he had received from Strachan before leaving England. It is true, he wrote to Strachan, that the letter "is marked 'private and most confidential,' but as it relates to public men and a public trust, I feel myself constrained to make such use of it as I may find necessary."³ Strachan replied that he had no recollection of

¹Can. Arch. Q. 371, Galt to Huskisson (Dec. 24, 1827), enclosing his answer to the directors, whose dispatches "have so much surprised me that I am obliged, with respect to my correspondence with the Lieut. Governor, to demand that the Resolutions be rescinded as I was prepared with the fullest explanation of that subject." Q. 344-2, Maitland to Huskisson, (Dec. 29, 1827), thanking him for bringing pressure to bear on the directors "in order to check Mr. Galt's very improper and offensive correspondence with this Government. I regret to add that I have by me many very unnecessary letters from that gentleman which I shall not fail to transmit."

²Can. Arch. Q. 346-1, Galt to Hillier (Dec. 20, 1827).

³Can. Arch. Q. 346-1, Galt to Strachan (Dec. 21, 1827); Strachan to Galt (Dec. 22); Strachan to Galt (Dec. 24). Galt sent a collection of letters illustrating his relations with Maitland to Robert Stanton, the Government printer at York, who declined (Dec. 21) to print them without authority from the Government. On Dec. 27 Galt applied for permission to have his documents printed by Stanton, and was told it could not be done without the sanction of the Secretary of State.

the letter, demanded a copy and protested against Galt's intention as "treacherous and ungentlemanly." These hard words did not dissuade Galt, and finally Strachan declared he was prepared to face any blame arising from the production of the letter, and that he had written it because he had seen in Galt "a restless disposition and an overweening idea of the power and importance of your office, united with a jealous suspicion."

Placed in this delicate position, Strachan decided to act first. He sent Maitland a copy of the letter and an account of his dealings with Galt. He had observed that Galt "even when he seemed to have no motive for discarding courtesy was often disagreeable and apparently unjust and disingenuous in his correspondence. I thought I should more effectually guard him against this source of difficulty by laying strong stress upon a disposition in your Excellency not to suffer in this respect a departure from propriety even in form, than by grounding my apprehension upon a feeling in himself which he might not acknowledge,"—an explanation which was coldly received by Maitland.¹

All this wrangling, though its results were neither immediate nor decisive, was not a very happy prelude to Galt's fancy-dress ball. The event took place on New Year's Eve and was a great occasion in York society. It was held in Frank's Hotel, the ball-room of which was at other times the town's only theatre. The floor was decorated with an immense representation of the company's coat of arms, two lions rampant bearing flags turned opposite ways and, on the riband below, the motto, "Non mutat genus solum." Spruce branches were hung on the ceiling, the walls and in the passages; and little coloured lamps, each containing a floating light, lit up the greenery. Lady Mary Willis, wife of Mr. Justice Willis, acted as hostess, and was dressed as Mary, Queen of Scots. The judge was disguised as a gay old lady, the Countess of Desmond; Dr. W. W. Baldwin appeared as a Roman senator,

¹Can. Arch. Q. 346-1, Strachan to Maitland (Dec. 26, 1827); Maitland to Strachan (Dec. 27).

and there were plenty of backwoodsmen and Indians¹ Whatever Galt's costume was his recent anxieties must have made him rather a dour host. Nor was the dance likely to mend his relations with Maitland. His choice of a hostess was unfortunate, for Lady Mary Willis had challenged the supremacy of Lady Sarah Maitland in the social world of York. Judge Willis, whose ambition to become the head of a provincial court of equity had been foiled by Robinson, the attorney-general, was developing into a strong antagonist of the Family Compact. The dissensions which he created among his colleagues were terminated by his suspension in June, 1829. Whether intentionally or not, Galt once more seemed to have allied himself to the opposition party.²

Early in 1828 Galt made an interesting addition to his staff in Major Strickland, who had come out to Canada three years before. "My first interview with Mr. Galt, the celebrated author of *Lawrie Todd*," writes Strickland, "took place at the old Steamboat Hotel in February, 1828. He received me with great kindness, and asked me many particulars of bush-life, connected with a first settlement.

"I suppose my answers were satisfactory, for he turned towards me abruptly, and asked me, 'If I would like to enter the Canada Company's service; for,' said he, 'I want a practical person to take charge of the outdoor department in the absence of Mr. Prior, whom I am about to send to the Huron Tract with a party of men to clear up and lay off the New-town plot of Goderich. You will have charge of the Company's stores, keep the labour-rolls, and superintendent the

¹Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, p. 111 f.

²In his article on *Colonial Discontent* (*Blackwood's Mag.*, Sept., 1829) Galt writes: "A system of espionage assumes that there is something which ought to be watched and to be prevented; and as such a system probably did exist in Upper Canada during the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, it may be said that so far his government was led to act on false principles. Let us not here be misunderstood; we do not suppose there was anything like an organized system, but only that tales to the personal disadvantage of the anti-ministerial party were too readily listened to. No doubt, the members of that party were as credulous in listening to tales to the prejudice of the adherents of Government, but then they had it not in their power to inflict punishment." He refers to Willis as an illustration.

road-making and bridge-building, and indeed everything connected with the practical part of the settlement.'

"This was just the sort of life I wished; so I closed at once with his offer. . . . In person, Mr. Galt was, I should think, considerably above six feet in height, and rather of a heavy build; his aspect grave and dignified, and his appearance prepossessing. His disposition was kind and considerate; but at the same time he commanded respect; and I can say with sincerity, I always found him an upright and honourable gentleman."¹

In April Strickland was at Guelph busy at bridge-building and road-making, and in his spare time acting as amateur surgeon and dentist. Prior was set free to superintend the cutting of a road through nearly a hundred miles of bush to Goderich, which established for the first time overland communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. Of this achievement Galt was justly proud.

"All the woodmen that could be assembled from the settlers were directed to be employed, an explorer of the line to go at their head, then two surveyors with compasses; after them a band of blazers, or men to mark the trees in the line, then went the woodmen with their hatchets to fell the trees, and the rear was brought up by waggons with provisions and other necessities. In this order they proceeded simultaneously cutting their way through the forest, till they reached their spot of destination on the lonely shores of Lake Huron, where they turned back to clear off the fallen timber from the opening behind."² The townships bordering the road were named after the company directors. Under Galt's direction it happened for the first time in the history of the province that road-making preceded settlement.

About the same time Galt went to New York to meet his family whose departure from Scotland had been delayed. While waiting for them he paid a short visit to Pennsylvania.

¹*Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, or the Experience of an Early Settler*, vol. I., 199-200. The book was edited by his daughter, Agnes Strickland, the author.

²*Autobiog.*, II., 122.

On their arrival his wife and sons were temporarily installed in the house at Burlington Bay. A little later the boys were put to school in the Lower Province, and Mrs. Galt accompanied her husband to Guelph, where the Priory was fitted up for her reception. "Our house, it is true," he wrote to Moir, "is but a log one . . . but it is not without some pretensions to elegance. It has a rustic portico formed with the trunks of trees, in which the constituent parts of the Ionic order are really somewhat intelligibly displayed. . . . In the course of this summer, another colony has been planted, and a new town, called Goderich, laid out on the shores of Lake Huron. . . . So, you see, if you tell me of new books, I can tell you of new towns—and which are the most interesting, I leave Christopher North and the Shepherd to determine."¹

His literary propensities, Galt said, were suspended while he was in Upper Canada, because he thought he had more useful work to do. But occasionally his thoughts turned to book-making. "This will serve to let you know," he wrote to Blackwood in November, 1827, "that I am still in the land of the living. After the most active year of my whole life I have at last obtained a little leisure, and perhaps before the winter is over may send you something; but hitherto I have not had a day to spare from the road or the office. . . . What would you think of a series to be called *The Settlers, or Tales of Guelph*? The idea has come often across my mind and the materials are both novel and abundant."² Nothing seems to have come of this, and a year later he writes again about a work of a very different sort. "I have been for some time intending to request you to announce a work which I have nearly finished . . . a view of the world of London, under the title of *My Landlady and Her Lodgers*. I think it will be quite as good as anything I have ever done, and be a little like the *Annals*, with more variety of incident and character."³ Noth-

¹*Memoir*, lxx. The letter is dated Oct. 5, 1828.

²Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., I., 462-3.

³Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., I., 463-4. *My Landlady and her Lodgers* ran in Blackwood's from August to November, 1829.

ing could be less like the *Annals* than this dull collection of stories told by a landlady about her lodgers, a strangely musty subject for a man who was driving roads through the forest and laying the foundations of towns.

In July, 1828, the company's accountant, Thomas Smith, arrived from England. Galt, who had been hampered from the beginning by an inadequate staff, and who had asked for an accountant nearly a year before, welcomed the new arrival. As things fell out, Smith was to prove anything but a help. The directors had grown uneasy at the extent and cost of Galt's operations, particularly those at Guelph. The Canada Company, like other enterprises, had suffered from the commercial depression in England which had followed an outburst of joint stock company speculation. There was evidence also of an intention on the part of some familiar with the inside workings of the company to manipulate the market so as to buy the stock later at a low figure. Both shareholders and directors were therefore anxious to cut down expenses. Rumours were rife in Canada that the company was to be broken up. Accordingly Smith had been sent out, nominally as accountant and cashier, but also as a check on the superintendent.¹

Friction was soon felt. Smith seems to have been vain, short-tempered, and ignorant of Canadian conditions,² while

¹Can. Arch. Q. 373. A statement of the company's position a few months later shows that the contract was proving too large. About a ninth of the original shareholders had withdrawn when the Clergy Reserves were exchanged for the Huron Tract. In England the credit and prospects of the company had deteriorated. In Canada unexpected competition had been met with from the commissioners appointed to dispose of Clergy Reserves and other lands. The Provincial Government had also continued to make free grants. The company had paid to Government up to May, 1829 £42,500; expenditure in Canada, chiefly on local improvements, over £35,000. Against this total of £77,500 could be set only £29,000 derived from sales, of which only about a quarter was paid up, and a further sum of £2,500 received in labour. Government was asked to reconsider the whole case owing to the "absolute impossibility of completing the subsisting contract on the part of the company." It was suggested that the company be allowed to concentrate on the Huron Tract and surrender the scattered Crown Reserves, which were difficult to dispose of. At the beginning of 1830 it was decided to make a further effort to carry out the terms of the original contract.

²His ignorance gave Dunlop opportunities for practical joking. See Strickland, op. cit., I., 223 f.

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THE AUTHOR OF A "LIFE OF BYRON"

(From *Fraser's Magazine*, December 1830)

Galt chafed at the undefined extent of his subordinate's power and the surveillance to which he felt himself exposed. From the York office, of which he was placed in charge, Smith carried on an independent correspondence with the directors. The decisive explosion was caused by a trivial incident. Sir Peregrine Maitland was about to return to England, and Galt wrote to thank him for his aid to the company. In return, Maitland offered to present him to Sir John Colborne, the new Governor. When Galt came back from the ceremony Smith "broke out into a frantic passion, talked unmitigated nonsense, and said I ought to have taken him 'in my hand' when I went to Sir Peregrine."¹

His manner indicated, so Galt thought, a vague power and authority entrusted to him by the directors. To escape from this intolerable situation Galt resolved to return to England and come to an understanding with the board. By the next mail (Nov. 9, 1828), he sent word of his purpose to London. But the accountant had forestalled him, for on the day Galt's letter was posted Smith had crossed Lake Ontario, bound for New York and London to lay his version of the case before the directors. If the company's interests in Canada were not to be abandoned there was nothing for Galt but to remain at his post.

From now on his position grew steadily more irksome. The directors ordered the bank at York not to honour his drafts. Convinced by this and other circumstances that he stood condemned in the eyes of the directors, he began to gather materials for his defence. Joseph Fellows, an agent of the Pulteney Land Company, was invited to inspect the work at Guelph. His report declared the improvements judicious and necessary, the office routine orderly. He gave Galt credit for sound judgment and uncommon industry, and recommended that he be given the most ample discretionary powers.

Winter having suspended out-door work, Galt found time to pay a farewell visit to Goderich. He travelled by sleigh

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 125.

over the newly cut road, lodging at log taverns. The journey gave him full leisure to ponder his position. "I had time, as I sat solitary in the sleigh, to chew the cud of bitter thought. I felt myself unworthily treated, for everything I had touched was prosperous, and my endeavours to foster the objects of my care were all flourishing, and, without the blight of one single blossom, gave cheering promises of ample fruit."¹

At Goderich a large clearing had been made and several houses built, but the sight of promising development only reminded Galt that his own career in Canada was at an end. "My adieu to Lake Huron was a final farewell; for, from the moment I lost sight of its waters, I considered my connection with the Company closed."²

On his return to Guelph he prepared for his departure, though he had received as yet no official recall. When he left he was presented with an address signed by 144 heads of families. At York, however, only Strickland, Dunlop and one other accompanied him to the wharf. In New York he learned from Buchanan that Thomas Mercer Jones had been appointed to succeed him as superintendent. But Galt was still reluctant to admit that his dismissal was final, and in the hope that he might return he left his family in Canada.

The petty jealousies and wranglings which resulted in his departure no longer obscure the real importance of his work. The Canada Company was for him more than a mere commercial scheme.³ It was to be a means of relieving distress in Great Britain by encouraging emigration. "The best way of lessening the evils of the old world is to improve the condition of the new; and to something of this kind my thoughts have constantly gravitated."⁴ His proposals were very similar to Gibbon Wakefield's system which was applied in Aus-

¹*Autobiog.*, II., 154.

²*Ibid.*, II., 158.

³The Canada Company is still in existence. In 1856 an Act was passed giving facilities for winding it up, but in 1877 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners reported that the company had still 400,000 acres to sell or lease. A further Imperial Act was passed in 1881.

⁴*Essay on Colonization, Lit. Life*, II., 45.

tralia. "Let the Government fix a minimum price on colonial lands, at which it will sell to individual settlers, or companies, or assign for sale to agents, as merchandise, and constitute by the proceeds a fund, from which it will construct public works in the respective colonies, and defray the expense of removing to them the superabundant labourers of the mother country."¹ But Galt saw clearly that successful and resourceful settlers could not be made out of all the surplus population of Britain.² He emphasized the necessity of making Canada an attractive field for capital, and contrasted the enterprise of the United States with the stagnation of the neighbouring provinces. In *Bogle Corbet* he shows the tendency of disappointed settlers to leave Canada for the States. It is to the credit of the Canada Company that it brought to Upper Canada a good type of settler, and helped to stimulate a reasonable and effective system of land settlement.

"I remember," wrote Strickland in 1853, "on my first visit to the mouth of the river Maitland, now the site of Goderich, a bridle-path for seventy miles through the trackless forest was the only available communication between the settlements and Lake Huron. This was only twenty-four years ago. This vast and fertile tract of land of more than one million acres, at that time did not contain a population of three hundred souls; no teeming fields of golden grain, no manufactories, no mills, no roads; the rivers were unbridged, and one vast solitude reigned around, unbroken, save by the whoop of the red-man, or the distant shot of the trapper.

"Reverse the picture, and behold what the energies and good management of the Canada Company have effected. Stage-coaches travel with safety and dispatch along the same tract where formerly I had the utmost difficulty to make my way on horseback without the chance of being swept from the saddle by the limbs of trees and tangled brushwood. A continuous settlement of the finest farms now skirts both sides of

¹Ibid, p. 43.

²See *The Metropolitan Emigrant* (*Fraser's Mag.*, Sept., 1835).

this road, from the southern boundary line of this district to Goderich.

"Another road equally good traverses the block from the western boundary. Thriving villages, saw and grist-mills, manufactories, together with an abundance of horses, cattle, sheep, grain, and every necessary of life enjoyed by a population of 26,000 souls, fully prove the success caused by the persevering industry of the emigrants who were so fortunate as to select this fruitful and healthy locality for their future homes."¹

That Galt always acted wisely in Canada is what no one will maintain. He could have shown more tact without any sacrifice of integrity; and he could have accommodated himself to the political situation without losing his independence. Strickland says that, while Galt's ideas were generally good, they were often badly carried out in detail, and that he erred in appointing inexperienced men to his staff.

But he had energy and vision, energy to form the company in the face of difficulties and delays and to accomplish much during his three years in Canada, vision to see that he was building for the future. "My successors," he wrote with just pride, "have not found they could improve my plans, but they are gathering the freightage of the vessel which I had planned and had the laborious task of the building and launching, by which my health has been vitally injured, and my mind filled with a rancour that has embittered my life."²

A note in his journal shows that he looked forward to "the general amalgamation of all the British North American colonies into one kingdom upon a federative principle;" and he saw that "a time must arrive when our colonies one by one will come of age and set up for themselves. The policy towards them should therefore be manifestly with a view to this as the best of all terms."

¹Strickland, *op. cit.*, I., 196-7.

²*Autobiog.*, II., 137.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST TEN YEARS (1829-1839)

Galt's last ten years form a monotonous record of ill-health, poverty and book-making. Like Scott, he wrote till hand and brain could do no more, and the sadness of the struggle is not lessened by the worthlessness of its literary results.

At first he faced his darkening prospects with something of the old confidence. "Here is Galt," wrote Lockhart, "as large as life and as pompous as ever, full of title-pages and unwritten books . . . and his own personal troubles which are neither few nor trivial."¹ He soon learned that his dismissal from the Canada Company was final, and before he could turn elsewhere for a livelihood his creditors were down on him. The most troublesome was the Rev. Dr. Valpy, Headmaster of Reading School, where Galt's three sons had been educated. Unable to meet the demand, a matter of eighty pounds, Galt asked for time; but Valpy, though an acquaintance of twenty-five years' standing, refused any concessions. Galt was committed to the King's Bench Prison where he suffered a long confinement.

While in prison he wrote *Lawrie Todd, or the Settlers in the Woods* (1830), the first and best of the later novels. Characteristically enough, Galt valued it as a handbook for settlers and was disappointed to find it read as a mere novel. The long rambling plot describes the career of a Scotch emigrant in America. The first part of the story was based on the life of Grant Thorburn, a thrifty Scot, who made his fortune as a seedsman in New York.² The book was welcomed by *Fraser's Magazine* (March, 1830), and Sydney Smith read it

¹Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., I, 243.

²Galt borrowed Thorburn's MS. and gave him "an author's, not a publisher's price" for it. Thorburn declares that Galt's publishers, Colburn and Bentley, gave 3,000 guineas for *Lawrie Todd*. If this is so Galt's poverty can only be explained by extravagance or by heavy debts previously incurred. In 1834 Thorburn published his MS. under the title *Forty Years' Residence in America*.

with pleasure. Scott was disappointed, though sympathetic to a fellow-craftsman in difficulties. "I have begun *Lawrie Todd*," he notes in his Journal, "which ought, considering the author's undisputed talents, to have been better. He might have laid Cooper aboard, but he follows far behind. No wonder: Galt, poor fellow, was in the King's Bench when he wrote it."¹ Galt did well not to ape Cooper. *Lawrie Todd* is dullest when it tries to be romantic and forgets to be an unpretentious record of pioneering conditions.

Other books followed in the same year. *Southennan*, a tale of the Reformation, unfortunately invites comparison with *The Abbot*. His next venture, the *Life of Byron*, Galt regarded "as the worst paid and the most abused" of all his books. It describes Byron's travels vividly, but a curious streak of independence runs through the whole, as if Galt were taking care not to be too impressed by Byron's greatness. It was partly this and partly extravagances of style which roused the critics. But in spite, or perhaps because of the critical uproar, the book became popular. Three editions were published within a year and 10,000 copies sold.²

Fraser's Magazine said a good word for the *Life of Byron* and defended it against the *Edinburgh Review*. For Galt had been one of the men who launched the Magazine at the beginning of 1830. For seven years he was a steady contributor on all manner of subjects. This connection introduced him to Carlyle, who has left us the best portrait we have of Galt in his later years. "Galt looks old, is deafish, has the air of a sedate Greenock burgher; mouth indicating sly humour and self-satisfaction; the eyes, old and without lashes, gave me a

¹Journal, July 11, 1830. Galt criticizes Cooper (*Lit. Life*, I., 397). The *Noctes* (*Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1830), has a kindly reference to *Lawrie Todd*.

²The *Life of Byron* formed Vol. I of the National Library, edited by the Rev. G. R. Gleig. See for criticisms *Athenaeum*, Sept. 4 and 11, 1830; *Fraser's Magazine*, Oct. and Nov., 1830; Lang's *Life of Lockhart*, II., 96; *Blackwood's Magazine*, Nov., 1830; *Moore's Journal*, Sept. 19, 1830 (cf. Galt's *Autobiog.* II., 186-9). Moore and Galt had met in London about 1822. The *Life of Byron* led to a quarrel with Hobhouse and some angry correspondence which Galt printed in *Fraser's Mag.* (Dec., 1830), under the title, *Pot versus Kettle*.

sore of *wae* interest for him. He wears spectacles, and is hard of hearing; a very large man, and eats and drinks with a certain west country gusto and research. Said little, but that little peaceable, clear, and *gutmuthig*, wish to see him also again."¹ About a month later (Feb. 18, 1832), he speaks of him as a "broad gawsie Greenock man, old-growing, lovable with pity." Carlyle was probably attracted by a man who regarded literature as an idle trade compared with the practical work of the world.

From 1831 to 1833 Galt drove ahead with book-making. On almost every volume rests the shadow of ill-health, poverty and distress of mind. At Lockhart's suggestion he compiled *The Lives of the Players* (1831).² In the same year he contributed to *The Club-Book*, a collection of tales edited by Andrew Picken, and again used his knowledge of America in *Bogle Corbet*. The excitement over the Reform Bill suggested three slight sketches. *The Member* describes election tricks and petty corruption in the manner of *The Provost*. *The Radical* is a similar skit on the other side of politics.³ In *Our Borough* (*Blackwood's Magazine*, Oct., 1832), which shows the alarm of a west country town council at rumours of the Reform Bill, Galt recaptured for a moment the humour of *The Ayrshire Legatees*.⁴ Galt's other books need little comment. In *Stanley Buxton* (1832) a wild romantic plot spoils some pleasant scenes in a quiet laird's household; *Eben Erskine* (1833) is a listless chronicle of travel masquerading as a novel; *The Stolen Child* (1833) is neither convincing nor sensational.⁵ Galt felt a pathetic and absurd confidence in his

¹Carlyle's *Journal*, Jan. 21, 1832. In his essay on Baillie the Covenanter, Carlyle refers to the "many-tinted tracteries of Scotch humours, such as a Galt, a Scott, or a Smollett might have rejoiced over."

²Lockhart seems to have been a good friend in these years. Through his influence Galt became editor of *The Courier*, a post which he relinquished in July, 1830.

³Cf. *Athenaeum*, Jan. 28, 1832.

⁴*Our Borough* is continued under the title, *The Dean of Guild*, in *Stories of the Study*.

⁵One of the characters in *The Stolen Child*, a pompous and insincere headmaster, may be intended for Dr. Valpy. Many passages in this book and in *Eben Erskine* show Galt's disgust at his literary drudgery.

next work, *The Ouranologos*, which was to appear in numbers, each number containing a picture and a description of some famous event. The first and only number dealt with the Deluge. This was followed by *Stories of the Study* (1833) and by the *Autobiography* in which occasional vivid passages are lost in a diffuse, vague and ill arranged record written in a tone of defiant self-justification.

Though Galt had thus been supporting his family by incessant book-making, he had hopes of help from another source. The Canada Company had been planned with the encouragement of the Colonial Office and in the hope of compensating Canadian war-sufferers. Though the funds were not devoted to this purpose, Galt felt he had earned a broker's commission by effecting a sale of such magnitude and increasing the Government's revenues. The amount of his claim was 1,437 pounds, 10 shillings. On the eve of his departure for Canada he had asked Horton about the matter and had been put off. When he re-opened the question in 1829 he met with new delays and evasions. Repeated appeals proved fruitless.¹ At the beginning of 1834 he received a last decisive refusal which ended his expectations.

His dealings with the Canada Company did not, however, deter him from a similar project, The British American Land Company. There was the same correspondence with the Colonial Office, the same eagerness in the promoters, the same caution in the Government. Once again Galt became Secretary and later Superintendent.² In December, 1833, the Company purchased over 800,000 acres in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. On March 20, 1834, the Company was incorporated by Royal Charter, but before this Galt's share in the enterprise had been ended by ill health.

Since 1829 his health had been steadily worse. Confinement, disappointments and hack-work had all told upon him.

¹Can. Arch. Q. 373. In *The Member* Galt introduces a Mr. Selby who had similar claims on the Colonial Office which were disallowed.

²The correspondence is chiefly in Can. Arch. Q. 213. The Company is still in existence. A third scheme, the Nova Scotia Land Company, came to nothing.

The disease, according to Galt, had attacked him slightly twenty-five years before. A fall in the forest in Canada seems to have injured his spine. Symptoms of a nervous disorder appeared, followed by lethargy and paralysis. In April, 1831, he moved to Barn Cottage, Old Brompton, about a mile and a half from Hyde Park Corner, and in those days a place of gardens and green fields. Here Moir visited him (June, 1832) and found "the drooping figure of one old before his time, crippled in his movements, and evidently but half resigned to this premature curtailment of his mental and bodily exertions."¹ Successive attacks of paralysis affected speech, handwriting and sight. In the spring of 1833 his loneliness was increased by his two eldest sons sailing for Canada, John to try his fortunes as a settler, Thomas to enter the service of the Canada Company. In March, 1834, his youngest boy, Alexander, also received an appointment in Canada. Galt, in spite of his feebleness, had been planning to go himself, and had been counting on his son's aid on the voyage. The scheme, perhaps never practicable, was now given up.

In the late spring of 1834 he went down by sea to Scotland. It was not thus he had dreamed of coming home. His ambition had been to buy and build and plant as Scott had done at Abbotsford and Jeffrey at Craigcrook. "There are but two situations," he wrote in *Sir Andrew Wylie*, "in which the adventurer, returning home, can duly appreciate the delightful influence of such an hour of holiness and beauty and rest. The one, when he is retreating from an unsuccessful contest with fortune—when baffled and mortified by the effects of his integrity or of his friendliness, he abandons the struggle, and retires to his native shades as to the embraces of a parent, to be lulled by the sounds that were dear to his childhood, and which he fondly hopes will appease his sorrows, and soothe him asleep forever;—the other, when, like our hero, conscious of having achieved the object of his endeavours, he comes with an honest pride to enjoy that superiority over his early

¹*Memoir*, p. xciv. Mrs. Thomson also visited him a little later and has described his condition. (*Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. 18.)

companions, which . . . is really the only reward of an adventurous spirit."¹

For a couple of months he lodged in Hill Street, Edinburgh, and saw his *Literary Life* through the press. Moir attended both him and Blackwood, who lay dying in Ainslie Place, a stone's throw distant. Presently he moved to the family house at Greenock, occupied by his widowed and invalid sister, Mrs. MacFie. The progress of the disease was painfully deliberate. On occasion Galt could still appear in public, and he was still able to turn out a story or an article. Among his papers are several short poems which give bitter expression to his suffering and helplessness. Probably his last public appearance was in January, 1839, at the annual dinner of the James Watt club. A portrait of Galt by John Fleming, of Greenock, was unveiled at the dinner. Galt was carried to and from the dining room in an arm chair. His old teacher, Colin Lamont, was present and was very proud of his former pupil.

During a good part of 1838 and 1839 Galt was pestered with visits and letters from Miss Harriet Pigott who wished him to revise her *Records of Real Life* for the press.² Galt tried to beg off on the score of health, but Miss Pigott was determined to have his name on her title-page. Galt declared he was unable to work half an hour a day. "Anguish of sensation and confusion of head clamour to me to desist." Poverty on the one hand and selfish importunity on the other made him consent at last to do what he could. Her diary records how she crossed over from Helensburgh to press her literary concerns on the helpless invalid, or, as she expressed it, "to cast a cheering beam over his monotonous days." Galt was also engaged in collecting some of his verse for a volume, which, however, he did not live to see published. Among his papers

¹*Sir And. Wylie*, III., 124-5.

²Harriet Pigott (1766-1846), daughter of William Pigott, rector of Chetwynd. When she died at Geneva she left her diary and other papers to the Bodleian Library. Among them is material she gathered for a life of Galt. When Moir's *Memoirs of Galt* appeared (1841) she gave up her plan.

are three attempts to write a preface for the book, in handwriting so shaky as to be often quite illegible.¹

Hand and brain were at last to be released from this poor drudgery. Towards the end he was frequently visited by the Rev. Andrew Gilmour, who contradicted rumours of Galt's heterodoxy. On April 1, 1839, Miss Pigott records in her diary, "went over to see poor Mr. Galt on his death bed." Eight days later she found him in a stupor, and on April 11 at five o'clock in the morning he passed away.

He was buried on April 16 beside his father and mother in the Inverkip Street burying-ground. Three years later David Vedder, the sailor poet of Orkney, wrote a sonnet at the grave.

Near this grey slab shall many a pilgrim halt,
With quivering lips, pale cheeks, and moistened eyes,
And bosoms heaving with unwonted sighs,
To gaze upon thy grave, immortal Galt!
Thy rare Hogarthian genius could exalt
The nameless inmates of the hamlet lone,
To cope with men who occupied a throne.
Thou gem of price! devoid of flaw or fault!
Ah! the creations of thy matchless mind
Stand forth in bold relief and bright array;—
The simple pastor, and the simpler hind,—
Nay, countless groups thy pencil did portray,
So chaste, so beautiful! they all but breathe!
Each adds a verdant leaf to thy unfading wreath!²

¹*The Demon of Destiny and Other Poems* (Greenock, 1839), with a preface by Miss Pigott. One other literary transaction belong to Galt's last months, his connection with *A Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV* (1838). This scandalous collection of gossip, chiefly about the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, was on its appearance attributed to Lady Charlotte Bury (1775-1861), and her authorship of it has never been disproved. Thackeray attacked the vulgarity of the book in *The Times* (Jan. 11, 1838), and burlesqued it in *Skimmings from the Dairy of George IV* (*Fraser's Mag.*, March, 1838). Alexander Galt wrote to *Fraser's Magazine* (Jan., 1841) declaring that Lady Charlotte was attempting to throw the whole odium of the work on his father. He says that Galt allowed his name to appear as editor only after "the most earnest solicitation of the noble authoress," and that he actually wrote no more than the preface.

²Printed in *The Ayrshire Wreath*, a collection of original pieces, in prose and verse, chiefly by native authors on subjects relating to Ayrshire. Vedder's poem is dated August 15, 1842.

In the gable of the house where Galt died a plate has been inserted bearing the inscription: "Here John Galt dwelt at his death, 11th April, 1839." An attempt was made by Mr. Allan Park Paton, a close friend of Galt's, and for many years librarian of the Greenock Library, to raise a Memorial by public subscription. The plan was later confined to the erection of a fountain on the Greenock Esplanade at the foot of Roseneath Street. With the assistance of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mr. Paton secured the architect of William Morris's house at Kelmscott to design the masonry, and Thomas Woolner, R.A., as sculptor for the medallion of Galt's head. This was based on a death mask now in the possession of Mr. Paton's son, Mr. J. Fraser Paton, of Glasgow.

On April 22 Galt's widow left Greenock, and sailed for Canada to join her sons, two of whom had inherited their father's ability without his disastrous habit of scattering his energies.¹ She lived at Sherbrooke with Alexander till her death.

Galt's mass of miscellaneous writing has obscured rather than strengthened his position in literature. It would have been better for his fame if he had written four or five of his Scotch novels and nothing else. But Galt, unlike Miss Ferrier, was not in a position to practise this wise restraint and to stay within his proper domain. The support of his family was the first consideration; literary reputation was a secondary matter.

His output of print was enormous for a man whose chief energies were given to affairs. Galt spent little time searching for literary material. He drew on his own experiences in Scotland, London, the East, or Canada, or else was content to fill his pages with mere facts transferred from other books. The material in either case was seldom reshaped and

¹Sir Thomas Galt (1815-1901) became chief-justice in the Court of Common Pleas in Ontario, and was knighted in 1888. Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (1817-1893) came out to Sherbrooke as a clerk in the British American Land Company, in which he rose to be commissioner. Entering public life in 1849, he later became Minister of Finance. The third son, John Galt, settled at Goderich and died about 1860.

transformed. Again, Galt constantly borrows from himself both in language and incident.¹ Writing easily and hastily, he never felt the desire, and, except in Scots, had not the power of giving his thoughts final expression. One of his favourite maxims was that book-making was a kind of lottery and that he could finish a work in less time than a fastidious author would take to plan it.

This is characteristic of Galt's whole attitude to literature. He describes in his *Literary Life* how at Messina he fell in with the *Life of Alfieri*. He read there that a man's greatness is measured by the benefit he does the world. The truth, he says, descended on him like an inspiration, and the conclusion he drew was that he should not make books from topics supplied by others, but furnish a topic by his own achievements. From that moment, he declares, literature was for him but a secondary pursuit, the mere means of recording what has been done. It was easy for Galt at the close of his life to select a dramatic moment for the birth of this conviction. But in reality it had been his creed from the start, and was the natural outcome of his circumstances and temperament.

Galt possesses his corner in literary history as a portrayer of Scottish manners. But he does not, like Scott, speak for a nation. He belongs to the west country, and is ill at ease in the Highlands or in London. He is the novelist of Ayrshire as truly as Burns is its poet. He describes the habits of the people whose passions are sung by Burns. The shrewd, humorous prose of the chronicler has been unduly overshadowed by the passionate zest of the singer's verse. Both have the same easy mastery of the vernacular; for both it was a natural inheritance, not an acquired literary artifice. It is fitting that the memory of Galt is still a standing toast at the Burns Club in Irvine.

¹Some instances may be given. The *Life of Byron* reproduces many pages from *Letters from the Levant*; the *Autobiography* draws on the *Life of Byron* and lends to the *Literary Life*; the *Life of Wolsey* is freely used in *Pictures Historical and Biographical* and in *The Wandering Jew*; *Eben Erskine* has whole passages almost verbatim from the *Voyages and Travels*. The plots of several of the plays were later retold in prose.

This strong local quality, with its narrow outlook and its loving minuteness, has given him his title of founder of the Kailyard School. He is indeed almost the first in the line of Scottish parochial novelists, and on that ground is the literary ancestor of George Macdonald, Ian Maclaren, Barrie and others. The racy touches with which these writers illustrate the ways of Aberdeen, Drumtochty, and Thrums come no doubt, directly or indirectly, from the *Annals* and *The Provost*. But the indebtedness goes little further. It was not from Galt that Macdonald derived his teaching and eloquence; Ian Maclaren did not learn his sentimentality from the author of *The Entail*; Barrie's pathos and humour, if more delicate, are less strong than Galt's fitful poignancy and dour satire. Galt's world is harsher and bleaker; the atmosphere of Gudetown is more like that of Barbie in *The House with the Green Shutters* than that of Drumtochty or Thrums. The softer qualities of the Kailyard School, if absent in Galt, are present in full measure in his earliest imitator, Moir. *The Life of Mansie Wauch, Tailor in Dalkeith*, ran intermittently in *Blackwood's Magazine* for three years from 1824 on, and was published in book form in 1828, with a dedication to Galt. The autobiographical form, the local pettiness, and the narrator's complacency are in Galt's manner, but the pathos is more frequent and diffuse, and the humour is often close to horseplay. William Alexander's excellent sketches of humble life in Aberdeenshire, *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (1871) and *Life Among my ain Folk*, constantly recall the *Annals* by their faithful recording spirit, their bare reality, and their strong vernacular flavour.

Galt was compared with Crabbe during his life-time, and more than once since then their likeness has been pointed out.¹ The best work of both is largely based on their own early memories and experience; Aldborough is for Crabbe what Irvine is for Galt. Crabbe's confession about his characters, "There is not one of whom I had not in my mind the original; but I was obliged, in some cases, to take them from their real situ-

¹For example, in the *Monthly Review* (Nov., 1821), and in the essay on Crabbe in Gilfillan's *Literary Portraits*.

ations,"—applies with slight modification to Galt's methods. Both are less successful when they work from literary models. *The Parish Register* is an analogue to the *Annals*, though inferior to Galt's book by reason of its artificial arrangement. *The Borough* is the counterpart of *The Provost*, though Crabbe's desire to make his picture complete lengthens his poem unduly. Both writers show their strength in the realistic treatment of humble life, and, while Galt's charm lies chiefly in his quiet humour, he is capable at times of that sternness which Byron praised in Crabbe.

APPENDIX

THE CANADIAN BOAT SONG

The Canadian Boat Song first appeared in the *Noctes Ambrosianae* in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1829. All discussion of its authorship must begin by quoting the dialogue which precedes the song. The talk is of conditions in Scotland and the fortunes of Scotsmen.

TICKLER

"Why in truth, we need hardly pretend that we have not had—by hook or by crook, no matter—our own share of the fat things. India—army, navy, council, bench, and direction, are pretty well ours. In the West Indies we are the drivers almost universally, and our planters are at least half and half. Nova Scotia—the name speaks for itself—and as for Canada, why it's as Scotch as Lochaber—whatever of it is not French, I mean. Even omitting our friend John Galt, have not we *hodie* our Bishop Macdonell for the Papists—our Archdeacon Strachan for the Episcopalists—and our Tiger Dunlop for the Presbyterians? and 'tis the same, I believe, all downwards."

(The discussion continues on the condition of church and gentry in Scotland.)

TICKLER

From a kingdom, we have already sunk into a province; let the thing go on much longer, and from a province we shall fall to a colony—one of "the dominions thereunto belonging"! They are knocking our old entail law to pieces as fast as they can, and the English capitalists and our Glossins between them, will before many days pass, have the soil to themselves—unless something be done—and I for one shall do *mon possible*.

MACRABIN

Trecenti juravimus.

SHEPHERD

Weel, if the gentry lose the land, the Highland anes at any rate, it will only be the Lord's righteous judgment on them for having dispossessed the people before them. Ah! wae's me—I hear the Duke of

Hamilton's cottars are a' gaun away, man and mither's son, frae the Isle o' Arran. Pity on us! was there a bonnier sight in the warld, than to sail by yon green shores on a braw summer's evening, and see the smoke risin' frae the puir bodies' bit shieling, ilk ane wi' its peatstack and its twa three auld donnered pines, or saughs, or elms, sugh-sughin' owre the thack in the gloamin' breeze.

NORTH

By-the-bye, I have a letter this morning from a friend of mine now in Upper Canada. He was rowed down the St. Lawrence lately, for several days on end, by a set of strapping fellows, all born in that country, and yet hardly one of whom could speak a word of any tongue but the Gaelic. They sung heaps of our old oar-songs, he says, and capitally well, in the true Hebridean fashion; and they had others of their own, Gaelic too, some of which my friend noted down, both words and music. He has sent me a translation of one of their ditties,—shall I try how it will croon?

OMNES

O, by all means—by all means.

NORTH

Very well, ye'll easily catch the air, and be sure you tip me vigour at the chorus. (Chants)

Canadian Boat Song (from the Gaelic)

Listen to me, as when ye heard our father
Sing long ago the songs of other shores;
Listen to me, and then in chorus gather
All your deep voices, as ye pull your oars;

Chorus

Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us, and the waste of seas—
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides,
Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
But we are exiles from our father's land.

We ne'er shall tread the fancy haunted valley,
 Where 'tween the dark hills creeps the small clear stream,
 In arms around the patriarch banner rally,
 Nor see the moon on royal tombstones gleam:
 Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

When the bold kindred, in the time long-vanish'd,
 Conquer'd the soil and fortified the keep,—
 No seer foretold the children would be banish'd,
 That a degenerate Lord might boast his sheep:
 Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

Come foreign rage—let Discord burst in slaughter!
 O then for clansmen true, and stern claymore—
 The hearts that would have given their blood like water,
 Beat heavily beyond the Atlantic roar:
 Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

SHEPHERD

"Hech me! that's really a very affectin' thing, now. Weel, Doctor, what say you? Another bowl?"

The poem, especially the second stanza, has been widely quoted and very often inaccurately. It was included in *The Republic of Letters* (1831), volume 7, a literary compilation edited by Whitelaw, and appeared in *Rod and Gun* (1840) by James Wilson. In *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (June, 1849) it was printed with some alterations in the text. The famous second stanza has appeared in various degrees of misquotation in an article by Dr. Norman Macleod in *Good Words* (1860), in Cameron-Lees' *Stronbuy* (1881), in Stevenson's *Silverado Squatters* (1883), in Miss Gordon Cumming's *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas* (1883), in William Black's *Stand Fast, Craig Royston* (1890). Joseph Chamberlain quoted the poem in a speech at Inverness in September, 1885. In *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1889, a changed and lengthened form of the poem appeared in an article by Sir John Skelton. Speaking at the festival of the Royal Scottish Corporation in 1904,

Lord Rosebery quoted the second stanza as "one of the most exquisite that has ever been written about the Scottish exile."

Neither the Gaelic original of the poem nor its author has been discovered, though much energy and a great deal of bad logic have been used in the attempt. As for the Gaelic original it may never have existed. A long list of candidates for the authorship has been brought forward, Lockhart, Wilson (Christopher North), Wilson's brother Tom, Hugh Montgomerie, the 12th Earl of Eglinton, Galt, Hogg, Scott, Dunlop, Longfellow and others. The more serious claimants may be briefly considered.

Lockhart's claim rests on the fact that he was the author of the *Noctes* in which the song appeared. The argument for Wilson depends partly on a resemblance, not very remarkable, between his acknowledged poetry and the Boat Song. The case for the Earl of Eglinton is more elaborate. In *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (June, 1849) the poem appears at the close of an article on Employment or Emigration by Donald Campbell, who introduces it thus: "The late Earl of Eglinton, a distinguished member of a family not destitute of Celtic blood, and which has been illustrious for chivalrous honour and patriotic feelings and principles, had a high opinion of the loyalty and bravery of the Canadian Highlanders, and left the following translation of one of their boat songs among his papers, set to music by his own hand." The statement that the song was among the Earl's papers has never been verified. In this version the fourth stanza is changed to the following:

When the bold kindred, in the time long vanish'd,
Gather'd on many a Scottish battle-field,
No seer foretold the children would be banish'd,
Proscrib'd the tartan plaid and studded shield.

This is apparently a reference to the Proscribing and Disarming Act of 1747. The Earl of Eglinton (b. 1739) entered the army in 1756 and saw considerable service in America with the 78th Regiment of Highlanders. The argument is that he wrote the song while in Canada. He returned to

Scotland later, and died in 1819. This theory, attractive and convincing in many ways, does not explain the poem's appearance in 1829. The change in text can be explained on the ground that whoever inserted the song in Blackwood's thought that a reference to the Proscribing and Disarming Act was out of date in 1829, and accordingly replaced it by a reference to the evictions in the Highlands.

If Lockhart, Wilson, or the Earl of Eglinton is to be accepted as the author, the statement about the friend in Upper Canada must of course be disregarded. There are no serious arguments to connect the poem with the names of Scott, Hogg and others. It remains to consider Galt and Dunlop.

The arguments for Galt are far from conclusive. The mainstay of the case is his connection with Canada and with Blackwood's. But Galt was in England in April, 1829 (*Autobiography*, II., 344). In London he met Lockhart in June. That Galt was a contributor to the number of the magazine in which the song appeared proves nothing. Mr. J. H. Lobban, who made a search in the archives of William Blackwood and Sons discovered that an article on *Colonial Discontent*, signed Cabot, which was printed in that number, was by Galt. The same number also contains an instalment of his serial *My Landlady and her Lodgers*. Mr. Lobban, however, found nothing to connect Galt's name with the Boat Song.

Several other facts tell against rather than for Galt. He never mentions the poem, though his *Literary Life* speaks of many of his writings of far less merit. There is no reason to suppose that he had any knowledge of Gaelic, though this does not matter if the Gaelic original is not taken seriously. Judging by *The Spaewife* and *The Chief* (Blackwood's, April and May, 1833), he had none of the feeling for Highland character and tradition which appears in the Boat Song. His *Autobiography* records no experience corresponding to the circumstances mentioned in the *Noctes*. His trip to Montreal and Quebec was in winter and by sleigh. The nearest parallel is his trip in 1827 on Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron. Some passages in his account of it are suggestive of the mood of the

Boat Song (*Autobiography*, II., 72 ff.). Holland's Landing, he says, "presented to me something of a Scottish aspect in the style of the cottages, but instead of mountains the environs were covered with trees. . . . After descending the river we steered across Lake Simcoe, the boatmen during the time amused us in the stillness of the evening with those French airs which Moore has rendered so popular by his Canadian boat songs." The following morning "the mist prevented me from seeing the outline of the adjacent land, but the situation of the house reminded me of Rhuardinnan at the foot of Ben-Lomond in Scotland." He was further reminded of his boyish expedition to Loch Lomond by "the houseless shores and shipless seas" of Lake Huron. If Galt wrote the Boat Song he probably did so at this time, when his mind was apparently full of Scottish memories. If it belongs to him it is by far his best poem.

Dunlop did not come into the field as a candidate till 1918. The main point in his favour is that he was in Canada when the song appeared. He had of course earlier been a contributor to Blackwood's. The chief argument against him is that, so far as is known, he was not a writer of verse.

The following are a few of the many discussions of the Boat Song. The main facts are clearly and impartially stated by Mr. G. M. Fraser in *The Times Literary Supplement* of December 23, 1904. Mr. Fraser also presents the case for Wilson in *The Lone Shieling* (1908). The arguments for the Earl of Eglinton are well put in *The Canadian Boat Song and Other Papers* (1912) by Thomas Newbigging. Two articles in *The Thistle* (May, 1910, and Dec., 1912) also plead for Eglinton. An article in *The Canadian Magazine* (March, 1918) by Mr. Charles S. Blue, upholds Dunlop.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S PLAYS

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philology

No. 6

THE CHRONOLOGY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S PLAYS*

In the study of the development of Spanish dramatic art we are confronted at the outset with a difficulty that does not exist to a similar extent in the dramatic literature of any other country, namely, the extraordinary productivity of the creator of the *comedia*, Lope de Vega. No less than four hundred and twenty-six of his plays are extant. Several hundred more are known at least by title. The difficulty has never been met satisfactorily, and so we are to-day, after a century or more of considerable effort on the part of historians of the Spanish drama, and of Lope's plays in particular, without adequate knowledge of the exact origins and development of his art, or of his relations to his predecessors, contemporaries, and imitators. Even the most recent studies devoted to the drama of the period in question flounder badly whenever there arises a question of the genesis and development of this or that important phase of the *comedia*, as, for example, versification, or a character like the *gracioso*.

Lope was the most original playwright in the formative period of the *comedia*. Originality and versatility are indeed the characteristics of his talent that have given him universal fame. A study of his works shows that he was continually experimenting, and all attempts to beg the question of his artistic development by grouping his plays, as Menéndez y Pelayo and others have done, according to subjects—pastoral, Carolingian, chronicle, and so forth—but evade the issue and lead nowhere. It might be taken for granted that a genius like Lope, who wrote plays for at least fifty-five years (sixty-two by his own count) and who, we know, invented many characteristic elements, such as, for example, the all-important use of the *romance*, or narrative metre, and a character like the *gracioso*, to mention only two fundamental changes which he introduced, would be interested in developing the *comedia*, and

*Read before the Romance Club of the University of Toronto.

make it conform to changed ideas in himself and his audience. Even unconsciously an evolution in his art and his style must have taken place as his taste fluctuated. We know how Shakespeare, who wrote over a much shorter period, made his blank verse more flexible by gradually substituting run-on for end-stop lines, and we need not consider here other changes in Shakespeare's art which are equally apparent but cannot be indicated so briefly.

There may be higher studies than the consideration of the chronological development of a writer's art, but chronological evolution may be taken to be the basis of them all. In the case of a prolific writer like Lope, no sustained effort has yet been made to determine the chronological order of his dramatic production. In Menéndez y Pelayo's introductions to Lope's plays, we find only vague indications like late and early plays, but to Menéndez y Pelayo any play written by 1600 was early, and by that time Lope had been writing for at least twenty years and had produced several hundred plays. What Menéndez y Pelayo meant exactly by a late play, it would be difficult to determine, but it was probably one written between 1625 and the date of the dramatist's death, 1635. After all, Menéndez y Pelayo trusted to an instinctive feeling in the matter, and excellent as this undoubtedly was, it was unscientific and not unerring. Menéndez y Pelayo rightly showed much concern for the date of the play he had under consideration, and if he felt that the work was an early production, his criticism revealed the leniency that is at all times shown toward juvenilia. The following comments—the first on the date of *Los Vargas de Castilla*, and the second on *El primer Fajardo*—are typical: "Por el título, parece composición de la juventud de Lope" (*born in 1562*) "escrita probablemente en Sevilla" (*i.e. in 1601 or later*): "es esta pieza anterior al año 1604, fecha que parece bien confirmada por el desorden de la traza, la viciosa contextura de la fábula y el desaliño del estilo, que son notas características de la primera" (*the italics are mine*) "y más ruda manera de Lope, sobre todo en sus piezas históricas y novelescas". In partial extenuation of Menéndez y Pelayo's vagueness it may be observed that Lope himself had flexible notions about his youth. He averred that *La Mocedad de Roldán* was composed in his *mocedad*, but was in fact written after 1596, when he was almost thirty-five.

More trustworthy than subjective opinion would be some objective method whereby the dates of Lope's plays could be determined within, let us say, five or ten years. When this much has been achieved, means will probably be discovered to define the chronology more accurately. Then we shall at last be able to study the development of his craftsmanship.

To recapitulate and particularize, a chronological arrangement of his plays would make possible studies on his relations to supposed predecessors like Juan de la Cueva, whose dated plays belong to the years 1579-1581, to Cervantes, a rival in the early eighties; to the Valencian group of playwrights, Aguilar, Tárrega, Mercader, Virués; Lope's school, Tirso, Mira de Amescua, Guillén de Castro, Vélez de Guevara, Alarcón, Calderón, Moreto, and others who accepted the comedia as perfected by the master; the development of his technique; certain characters and themes (honour plays, for example); versification and many other problems.

Slightly more than one hundred of his plays can be dated. Not a few autographs with indications of the exact date of composition exist. Only one of these is considered a forgery—*El Príncipe perfecto*. Other plays contain allusions to contemporary events, which give at least approximate dates. Sometimes we have information about the actors who first produced his plays. Lope himself occasionally vouchsafed information on the date of composition. This is at times untrustworthy. An instance has been noticed in the case of *La Mocedad de Roldán*. Another example is *El verdadero Amante*, published in 1620, but written according to the author when he was twelve years of age, that is, in 1574. Lope was, no doubt, a precocious child, and may have composed plays at that tender age, but certainly not the play in question, because before 1580 plays were not written in three acts (with one exception, unknown to Lope and his contemporaries) but in four, as he states very correctly in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*:

"Y yo las escribí de once y doce años

De a cuatro actos y de a cuatro pliegos".

Moreover the play in question has some *romance* verse which he himself first introduced into the comedia, but not until about 1585, when he was no longer twelve years of age, but twenty-three. It has been suggested that on publishing this play Lope re-wrote

it, reducing the acts from four to three, and making other changes. He makes no reference to any alterations, and, to anticipate conclusions reached in the present investigation, the verse is such as Lope used in the late eighties. In other words, when Lope dedicated the play to his son Carlos in 1620, he was right in thinking that it was a very old production, one of the very oldest in fact that he ever published himself, but it was not so old as he imagined.

Frequently, following the practice of pastoral literature, Lope introduced himself into his plays as Belardo. Very useful for our purpose are the plays in which Belisa or Lucinda appear. Belisa is an anagram of Isabel (de Urbina), the dramatist's wife between 1588 and 1595. Belardo-Belisa plays belong approximately to those years, as the Belardo-Lucinda (Micaela de Luján) comedias do to 1599-1608. Other plays reflect a personal acquaintance with Valencia, Toledo, Alba, Seville, Granada, and the dates of his visits to these places are known.

Spanish plays, more especially in the speeches of the *gracioso*, contain references, satirical or otherwise, to contemporary events, political or literary, and customs. In this they sometimes served the same purpose as the *relaciones* or news-sheets of the times, as, for instance, when Lope in *El Argel fingido*, 1599, described at great length, and as an eye-witness, the marriage at Valencia of Philip III and Marguerite of Austria. Many plays can be dated by allusions to *gongorismo*, which began about 1609(?). References to sumptuary laws regulating the use of carriages and other luxuries are helpful. The presence or absence of the *gracioso* may be an indication of the date of a play. Lope declared that he first introduced this character in *La Francesilla*. Some years ago, on internal evidence, I determined the date of this play as 1598. But there are plays written as early as 1594, for example, *El Maestro de danzar*, that contain the character. The *gracioso* soon became very popular, but in the older period he was not introduced into every play, and so his absence is not an infallible indication that the play was composed before 1598 or 1594. Chorley used this evidence to excess, but we are more cautious now in accepting it as conclusive.

Very useful are the lists of plays given by Lope in *El Peregrino en su patria*, published in 1604 but licensed in the preceding year,

and the revised list published in 1618. These are *P.* and *P.*² of Lope bibliography. The dramatist failed, however, to make his lists complete. Sometimes the titles differ from those borne by plays as we know them. Bibliographers take *Los Comendadores*, mentioned in *P.* to be the same play as *Los Comendadores de Córdoba*, published in 1609, in a volume all the plays of which are, it is true, cited in *P.* A play bearing the short title was acted in 1593. If this is the same work we have here the earliest known comedia with a fully developed *gracioso*, and incidentally the oldest play showing the presence of *décimas*, a stanza that does not appear regularly until about 1610, although it occurs in *El Argel fingido*, written in 1599. Restori thought that *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* refers to Elena Osorio and was, therefore, composed before 1587 when that actress sued Lope for libel. The presence of the *gracioso*, the use of *décimas*, and other features (the absence of octaves and tercets, although on the other hand the number of *romance* lines is characteristic of the times) make it difficult to decide absolutely whether *Los Comendadores* and *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* are one and the same play.

The dates of the editions of Lope's plays provide some material, but generally speaking they give only approximate information about the date of composition. The first volume of his dramatic works was not published until 1604.

Such, then, are some of the methods used hitherto to date Lope's comedias. Bearing in mind that a poet's art suffers a gradual change, consciously or unconsciously, is there any method whereby we can use information gathered from a study of his dated works¹ to determine the stages in his evolution, and thereby get some criteria that will help in fixing the chronology of undated plays? One thinks, first of all, of the changes in his dramatic art, the number and character of his *dramatis personae*, the beginnings of the action, its development and conclusion, the subject matter of his plays—pastoral, historical, honour, cloak and sword plays—and so on. Much could be learned from a study of these aspects

¹The present investigator is aware of the arbitrariness of this limitation, in that a phenomenon found in a dated play may occur earlier in a published play whose date, because it cannot be defined more closely, has, therefore, been excluded from the schedules.

of his work, but the material collected would be difficult to handle in a prolific dramatist like Lope. Another method that suggests itself is a study of his vehicle of expression, in other words, his versification, and this is the one adopted in the present investigation. It has its obvious difficulties, too, because plays were not intended for the printed page, and were published carelessly, often with the changes, additions, and deletions of censors, actors, and others. Surreptitious editions were based on material memorized in the theatre by men like "Gran Memoria," who sold their garbled versions to booksellers and printers. All dramatists complained of the way their works were published. Some plays underwent such extensive changes that their authors could not recognize them. Moreover, in the compilation of statistics of versification some very difficult problems arise, as, for instance, the distinction between pairs of *quintillas* and *décimas*. The *décima*, or more correctly the *espinela*, was invented by Espinel, a contemporary and friend of Lope. It ought to rime as follows, *abba:accddc*. The pause at the end of the fourth line is frequently disregarded. There exists a kind of *quintilla* riming in pairs² with fixed rime scheme very similar to that of the *décima*, a common type being *ababaccddc*. Examples will be found in such early plays as *El verdadero Amante* (the opening lines) and *El Ganso de Oro* (ed. Acad., N.S., 1, 153). In Menéndez y Pelayo's edition they are usually printed as *quintillas*, but sometimes as *décimas*. The

²This was called a *copla real*. Espinel's contribution consisted in fixing the rime scheme, and in avoiding a pause at the end of the fifth line. In his dedication of *El Caballero de Illescas* (*Parte catorce de Comedias* . . ., 1620), Lope says that Spain owes much to Espinel, "particularmente las décimas, que si bien se hallan algunas en los antiguos, no de aquel número, como en Juan de Mena las que comiençan *Muy más clara que la Luna*. Composición suave, elegante y difícil, y que ahora en las Comedias luze notablemente, con tal dulzura y gravedad que no reconoce ventaja a las canciones extranjeras. Verdad es que en la lengua Francesa las he leído escritas por el señor Malherbe, en las obras de diversos poetas: pero por el año de su impresión consta que pudo imitarlas si bien se diferencian en la cadencia del verso quinto." It is curious to note that in *El Laurel de Apolo*, Lope again laid special stress on the fifth line: "Que bien el consonante responde al verso quinto." What Lope has to say about the *espinela* is of unusual interest because of his intimate relations with Espinel. In fact the latter states in the prologue of his *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618) that Lope in his youth submitted his verse to him for criticism.

matter is more important than it may at first seem, because the *quintilla* (in either form) is a stanza that fell into disuse, whereas the *décima* of the *espinela* type was not employed in the early plays, but gradually increased in popularity. For the present statistics the *décima* is taken to be a stanza riming *abbaaccddc*, and the occurrence of *quintillas* in pairs is disregarded, reluctantly, because they seem to be characteristic of the oldest period and useful, therefore, in dating plays. Whether the intermingling of stanzas (e.g., a *quintilla* among *redondillas*, N.S. 1, 239; *suellos* and octaves, H., IV, 81, 11, 447, N.S., 11, 319-320) is to be ascribed to corrupt texts cannot be determined until a study of Lope's practice as illustrated in his autograph plays is made. The combination of octaves and blank verse occurs so often that one wonders whether the octaves are a coincidence, since there was a tendency to introduce rimes in blank verse, especially in pairs, a tendency that developed into so-called *pareados*, or whether the text is corrupt—as it undoubtedly is in some instances.

Other considerations must also be kept in mind. There was undoubtedly a normal development, but the versification of a play might vary abnormally because of the subject matter, or the special occasion for which it was written. The latter cannot always be determined. *La Limpieza no manchada* (1618) was written for a performance given at the University of Salamanca, a fact that accounts for an abnormal use of *sestinas* (13 per cent.); the presence of a king in *Don Gonzalo de Córdoba* (1622) accounts for an excessive use of octaves (18 per cent.). A curious play in this connection is *El Castigo sin venganza* (1631), which was written in a day and shows in its erratic versification the haste with which it was composed. The play has *quintillas* and tercets—not much used by 1631; the second act ends in *quintillas*, and the third act begins with *romances*, peculiarities for which there is almost no precedent. For the present investigation these finer distinctions are held in abeyance, the only aim being to provide a rough guide to a tentative chronological arrangement of the author's plays. When once his works have been dated approximately, subtler means will have to be employed for the study of plays within certain periods or groups.

Spanish literature favours the octosyllabic line as Italian does

the hendecasyllabic. The latter was introduced, or re-introduced—it occurs in the 15th century, and in the early 16th one of Encina's *Eclogas* (1509) is in royal octaves—into Spain in 1526, on the memorable occasion of an interview between Boscán and the Venetian ambassador, Navagero. This is not the proper place to reconsider the long struggle between the use of the national metre and the exotic hendecasyllabic. The Italian line scored a doubtful triumph in certain types of literature, but not in the drama.³ Until the seventies of the 16th century the short line was preferred in plays, the most popular stanza being a type of *quintilla* with a *pie quebrado*. Juan de la Cueva's plays of 1579-1581, composed under classical or Italian influence, contain from thirty-four to sixty-four per cent. of long lines. Cervantes's plays of about the same period have from forty-seven to seventy-seven per cent. of hendecasyllabic verses. Lope's oldest play, the only one in four acts now extant, *Los Hechos de Garcilaso* . . . has forty-three per cent. of long lines, with octaves predominating over tercets (22:17). This classical period was of short duration. Italianate as Lope was, he preferred the short Spanish line, and this was, perhaps, in point of time, his first contribution to the popular, national drama. By 1593, when we have his first dated play, *El Favor agradecido*, the Italian line had fallen to about twenty-one per cent. In one of his latest plays, *Las Bizarrias de Belisa* (1634), it was used for only eight per cent. of the lines. In *La Moza de cántaro* (1631-1632) there are no long lines except in one sonnet. This marked a tendency that is reflected in the plays of Calderón.

Blank verse, introduced into Italian drama in 1515 by Trissino in *Sofonisba*, and the recognized verse of Italian, and later of English, drama, found but little favour in Spain. Cervantes used it more than any other playwright, but he had spent five years in

³As Lope very wisely observed,

"Con los versos extrangeros,
En que Lasso y Boscán fueron primeros,
Perdimos la agudeza, gracia y gala,
Tan propia de españoles . . .
Y así ninguno lo que imita iguala,
Y son en sus escritos infelices,
Pues ninguno en el método extrangero
Puso su ingenio en el lugar primero."

Italy during the receptive period of youth. In him the percentage of blank lines in a play of 1580 ran as high as twenty-one, but in Juan de la Cueva's and Lope's plays it never rose above ten and that only in the latter's early work. After 1610 it almost disappeared, to reappear, however, in a late play, *Las Bizarrias de Belisa* (1634), to the extent of six per cent., three of which were, however, in rimed couplets (*pareados*). The Spanish tendency to insert rimes in blank verse has been noted before. At first the intention was apparently to give something like the effect of stanzaic structure, or to relieve the monotony of rimeless long lines. Few Spanish poets—and Lope is no exception—have mastered the rhythm of blank verse, and to them "rime the rudder is of verses, with which, like ships, they steer their courses." As early as *La Francesilla* (1598) we find twenty-two lines of blank verse followed by eight in riming couplets. In his later plays, if he used the line, it was almost always in *pareados*.

In Lope the octave⁴ held its own better than any other hendecasyllabic line, appearing pretty regularly in all of his plays at a steady percentage of about five. Lope found it a useful stanza for grave situations, and doubtless too, his constant practice in writing epics made the octave a convenient medium that required a minimum of exertion. In his treatise on the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609) he assigned to it and to tercets a narrative function, in which capacity they serve consistently in the plays of Cervantes. In the comedia, as it was finally established by Lope, the octosyllabic *romance* became, however, the narrative metre of most frequent use. It was chiefly when the situation was very grave (e.g., in *Don Gonzalo de Córdoba*, 1622, Ob. S., X, 447) that the octave was preferred to the *romance*. Long narratives called *relaciones* were, I believe, written exclusively in *romance* metre, at least in cloak and sword plays. To them reference will be made later in this study.

The tercet struggled in vain for recognition. After 1600 it is often absent from plays altogether. Calderón, as is well known,

⁴As is well known, in early 15th and 16th century drama, in many countries, perhaps under Italian influence, the royal octave was the favourite stanza. In Spain, however, it occurred only sporadically before 1580, when Juan de la Cueva and Cervantes made it their favourite long line.

eschewed tercets, for the same reason, doubtless, that induced Lope gradually to disregard them, namely, the fact that they served no purpose for which the octave could not be employed. By a law of nature one form had, therefore, to yield to the other. The octave had an advantage over its rival in that it was the stanza preferred in the epic, a form of literature much cultivated by Lope and other poets of the time. Curiously enough in *La buena Guarda* of 1610 tercets rose to twelve per cent., the last flicker of a dying flame. It is interesting to note that Carlos Boil, a preceptist, in 1616 counselled against the use of tercets in favour of the *redondilla*, the favourite metre of the comedia as we shall see later.

It is in the national, octosyllabic line that we find the most consistent evolution. The stanza preferred in the pre-Lope period was the *quintilla* with *pié quebrado*, a type of *quintilla* that curiously enough was not carried over into the comedia at all.⁵ Even the *quintilla* of five full lines Lope used sparingly, and in his treatise of 1609 he disregarded it altogether. From about this year on, it occurs in decreasing amount, and in many plays is wholly absent. Even in his earlier plays (*ca.* 1600) he sometimes dispensed with it. It served no purpose for which the *redondilla* could not provide, and only a desire for variety saved it from extinction. In so late a play as *El Desprecio agradecido* (1633-1635) it occurs to the extent of twenty per cent. and surpasses *redondillas* (20:13), a phenomenon for which we can find parallels only in the nineties of the preceding century.

In the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* of 1609 Lope prescribed *redondillas* for "*las [cosas] de amor*," but as he had used the line within the preceding ten years for as much as ninety-five per cent. of a play and was during that decade a confirmed *redondillista*, his theory was obviously not consistent with his practice. A study of the schedule of his versification between about 1600 and 1610 shows that Lope was experimenting with the *redondilla* as the exclusive octosyllabic line for the comedia, and finally decided against its excessive use. It is the only metre that occurs in every Lope play. The average percentage of its use is forty-six,

⁵It occurs sporadically in Tirso de Molina.

below which plays fall most consistently after 1622. After about 1610 Lope gradually ceased to make the *redondilla* the metre of his preference.

The line that finally triumphed over the *redondilla* was the *romance*. It was Lope, we may suppose, who first used it in the *comedia*. There is a curious tradition that Juan de la Cueva first introduced the *romance*. It is the metre of balladry, and Juan de la Cueva took some of his subjects from ballads, but he was too much of a classicist to employ so popular a metre, and in fact it does not occur at all in his plays. Lope used it hesitatingly at first, probably in the late eighties, when the ballad was at the height of its popularity in Spain, and then only in short, unbroken narrative. One can only conjecture the date of its first appearance. It does not occur at all in *Los Hechos de Garcilaso* . . . , or *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. There is one narrative of twenty-four lines in *El verdadero Amante*, and about four per cent. in *El soldado amante*, a play that belongs to the Osorio period (1587 or earlier). Schedule II shows that it is wanting in four early plays, whereas Schedule I demonstrates clearly that from 1593 on it formed an integral part of the versification of the *comedia*. One may postulate as a working hypothesis that Lope first introduced the *romance* line about the year 1585. It was apparently some years before he realized the possibilities of this characteristically Spanish verse, but except during the period of his extreme *redondillismo*, to which reference has already been made, he extended its use consistently until, in his closing years, he employed it for as much as fifty-four per cent. of his lines. From 1622 on, it frequently surpassed the *redondilla*, a tendency that was continued in Calderón (see Schedule V), who, in a play composed in 1680, *Hado y divisa de Leónido y de Marfisa*, used it almost exclusively (85 per cent.).⁶ In the drama of no other nation was the triumph of the popular element so complete.

As Lope stated in his treatise of 1609, the *romance* excelled in narrative. This was its exclusive use in the oldest period, but it very soon served in dialogue, and gradually became a convenient vehicle for any informal occasion. Attention has been called above to its use in chronicling events of the day, the first play in

⁶Long before this date, and even in Lope's time, its extensive use in long speeches necessitated changes of assonance.

which it was employed extensively for this purpose being *El Argel fingido* (1599). The very existence of the secular drama was threatened at the time, and one cannot help thinking that the full account of the royal wedding was intended in part to appease the new king. No less than ten per cent. of the play was devoted to *romances* describing the event.⁷ From this date on occurrences in the royal family were responsible for many *romances*, irrelevant, of course to the matter in hand. More important from the standpoint of dramatic art was the introduction of the epic device of beginning the play abruptly, and when occasion offered—usually very early in the first act—of narrating the antecedents of the action occurring before the opening of the play. No practice was so much abused, and no other factor contributed so much to the degeneration of the comedia. Among dated plays, so far as I can determine, the earliest example is found in *De Cosario a Cosario* (1618-1621), a landmark, therefore, in the history of the Spanish drama.

A curious phenomenon in the history of the *romance* is its use to close the acts of a play. This became a conscious practice from about 1608 on, the first play revealing the characteristic being *La Batalla del honor* (1608). Very apt here is a sentence from Suárez de Figueroa's *El Pasagero* (A. 3) of 1617: Sobre todo os ruego escuséis la borra de muchos romances, porque tal vez ví comenzar y concluir con uno la primera." A glance at Schedule I will show that so far as Lope is concerned Suárez's observations are inexact. It is true that Lope begins the first act of *La hermosa Ester* (1610) and *El Médico de su honra* (1621-1623) with *romances*, but these are exceptions, and a study of his plays convinces me that he made a special effort to avoid beginning any act with *romances*, his preference here being *redondillas*. He sometimes introduces a few lines of *redondillas* at the beginning of an act apparently for the sole purpose of avoiding a practice which must have been abhorrent to him. One can only conjecture that Lope's reason for closing the acts with *romances* was a desire to warn the audience of the approaching conclusion. In the case of the last act this

⁷Lope published on the occasion a *Romance a las bodas que se celebraron en Valencia*, Valencia, 1599.

would, of course, run counter to his precept as expressed in the *Arte nuevo* . . . :

"Pero la solución no la permita
Hasta que llegue a la postrera scena,
Porque, en sabiendo el vulgo el fin que tiene,
Vuelve el rostro a la puerta. . . ."

In *De Cosario a Cosario* (1618-1621) he introduces *romances* near the end of the play, interrupts them by using eighty lines of *décimas*, and concludes with *romances*. Whether his intention was to puzzle the audience can only be surmised. An interesting study of Lope's autograph plays could be made to determine whether he began the *romances* at a definite place in his *pliegos*.

The *romance* became the normal metre for narrative, as has been noted before. In a play of 1626 we read:

"Gusto de señora tienes,
que yo esperaba un romance,
y en verso grave (here=*silva*) procedes."

Amor con vista, Com. inéd., p. 144.

In *El Castigo sin venganza* (Ob. S., VIII, pp. 409-410) of 1630 something like a *relación* appears in *sestinas*, and other examples could easily be given to show that Lope, like other dramatists of the period, occasionally departed from the normal, for the sake of variety or because of the nature of the play or the occasion for which it was composed.⁸

There remains only one more octosyllabic line, the *décima*. On its structure something has already been said. In the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* it is recommended for complaints. Its earliest appearance in a play of known date is in *El Argel fingido* (1599). It occurs again five years later in *La nueva Victoria de Santa Cruz* (1604?), and at intervals in succeeding years, but does not appear regularly until about 1610. After that its success is assured, and it becomes an integral part of almost every play, its rise corresponding with the fall of its progenitor the *quintilla*. A signal mark of the esteem in which this fine stanza was held is its frequent use from about 1618 on in the opening lines of acts.

⁸The use of heptasyllabic *romances* (*endechas*) deserves a special study.

Its crown of glory was achieved in Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño* (ca. 1632), where it served in Segismundo's famous monologues.

The remaining metres are *sestinas*, *silvas* and sonnets. Songs in varying metres occur in almost every play. No conclusions can be drawn at present about their chronological evolution. Nor can they be dealt with satisfactorily in schedules of versification, because frequently only a few lines are quoted. In one of Montalván's plays, *Por el mal me vino el bien*, we read the stage direction: "*Cante Flor lo que quisiere hasta dos coplas.*" That they were not always the composition of the dramatists themselves is, of course, obvious. The *sestina* first occurs in *El Maestro de danzar* (1594), but is characteristic of the plays of a much later date, and its isolated occurrence in *El Maestro de danzar* makes one suspect an interpolation of a later period. Most plays have one or two sonnets, and their use seems constant throughout the Lope period. They are found in Juan de la Cueva's and Cervantes's plays, but are absent from the three Calderón plays analyzed in Schedule V. Lope prescribed them for soliloquies—"el soneto está bien en los que aguardan"—and that on the whole is their restricted function. Soliloquies occur, however, in almost every metre (e.g. *sestinas*, Lope, H., III, 284; *redondillas*, II, 470; *quintillas*, II, 523; octaves, II, 503; *décimas*, I, 553, etc.), but most commonly in sonnets.

Attention to the above considerations and a wise use of the Schedules will help to determine the approximate chronology of most of Lope's undated plays. The date of composition can be determined not so much by a consideration of the percentage of any one metre, as by the use of several. Professor S. Griswold Morley, to whom I am indebted for information about three inaccessible comedias, has undertaken the compilation of statistics on all of Lope's plays. When the results of this laborious undertaking are available, the chronological arrangement of Lope's works will be a comparatively easy matter.

APPENDIX

SCHEDULES OF VERSIFICATION

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1593	Favor agradecido, El	55	13	5	..	7	4	10	..	1 (2)	3 (ses.)	re.-su.; q.-su.; su.-re.
1594	Maestro de danzar, El	74	3	4	..	3	..	9	3	1 (3)	....	re.-oct.; re.-su.; re.-re.
	San Segundo de Avila	40	32	9	..	5	2	5	..	1 (2)	24ll. ses.	re.-oct.; oct.-q.; q.-oct.
	Laura perseguida (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
	Leal Criado, El	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1596?-1598?	Santa Liga, La	22	38	19	..	5	10	4	..	..	....	q.-ro.; q.-re.; su.-q.
1597?	Batuecas de Alva, Las	35	31	7	..	11	..	11	..	1 (3)	1-(song)	q.-re.; su.-endechas; re.-ro.
1598?	Francesilla, La	79	3	4	..	1	2	7	..	..	....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1598-1603	Padrino despiado, El (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
1599	Blasón de los Chaves . . .	21	47	14	..	6	2	4	..	1 (2)	....	oct.-so.; re.-so.; su.-ro.
	Pobrezas de Reinaldos, Las	20	39	19	..	10	6	3	..	..	....	q.-q.; re.-q.; q.-ro.
?	Rústico del Cielo, El	63	16	4	..	4	1-	6	..	..	1-(song)	re.-su.; re.-re.; q.-re.
?	Cautivos de Argel, Los	73	3	12	..	2	1	8	..	1 (2)	....	re.-su.; re.-re.; ter.-ro.
?	Argel fingido, El	40	22	14	1	8	2	5	..	1 (3)	2 (ses.)	re.-re.; re.-re.; q.-ro. (2% short line octaves N.S., 111, p. 496)

1599-1603	Angélica en el Catay Desposorio encubierto, El Gallardo Catalán, El	41 56 57	23 28 11	7 5 12	.. .. ..	12 1 8	4	5 6 6	.. .. ..	3 (7) 1 (4) 1 (3)	1 (canc.) 1 (ses.) 1 (song)	q.-ro; re.-oct.; re.-re. re.-oct.; q.-re.; so.-re. re.-oct.; re.-son.; re.-ro.
1600?	Contienda de García, La (R.C., p. 144, 1599)	26	27	21	..	11	2	12	..	(1)	....	q.-su.; q.-re.; ter.-oct.
1601-02	Amantes sin amor, Los	75	17	2	..	2	..	6	..	1 (2)	....	re.-q.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1601-06	Amante agradecido, El Príncipe despenado, El	72 50	20 20	7 14	.. ..	9 4	1 1	7 6	.. 5	(1) ..	1-(song) 5 (ses.)	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re. q.-ro; re.-re.; q.-re.
1602?	Cuerdo Loco, El Piedad ejecutada, La (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	40 ..	25 ..	15 ..	.. ..	10 ..	2 ..	5 ..	.. ..	1 (3) ..	.... ....	re.-re.; oct.-re.; re.-ro.
1602-3?	Tragedia del Rey D. Sebastián (<i>Menéndez y Pelayo, 1593</i>)	46	24	13	..	4	2	7	..	(1)	1 (song)	re.-oct.; q.-q.; re.-ro.
1603?	Cordobés valeroso, El	74	5	7	..	8	..	2	..	1 (3)	1 (ses.)	re.-oct.; re.-son.; re.-ro.
1603-6?	Corona merecida, La Arenal de Sevilla, El Gallarda toledana, La (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	85 95 ..	.. .. ..	11 4 ..	.. .. ..	2 .. ..	.. .. ..	2 .. ..	.. .. ..	1 (3) 1 (3) ..	.... .... ....	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-ro. re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1603?-13?	Gran Duque de Moscovia, El	51	23	13	..	2	1	7	..	(1)	1/2-(song)	q.-ro.; re.-re.; q.-ro.
1604	Carlos V. en Francia Nueva Victoria de S. Cruz, La	74 41	11 24	6 18	.. 1	5 6	.. 2	4 7	.. ..	(1) ..	.... ....	re.-re.; re.-su.; q.-re. q.-re.; re.-oct.; q.-re.
1605?	Prueba de los amigos, La	89	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	1 (2)	-(songs)	re.-re.; oct.-re.; re.-re.
1605-6	Noche toledana, La Testigo contra sí, El (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	84 ..	.. ..	12 ..	.. ..	3 ..	.. ..	3 ..	.. ..	2 (4) ..	.... ....	re.-re.; re.-re.; su.-ro.

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS—Continued

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1605-11	Premio de la hermosa, El	44	4	30	8	3	2	..	..	(1)	4 (ses.) 2 (songs)	dé.-dé.; re.-ro.; re.-ro. (132 ll.?, pp. 467-468, Ac. XIII)
1606-09	Hamete de Toledo (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1606-11	Octava Maravilla, La	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1608	(<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	55	9	17	2	4	1	7	..	(1)	2 (ses.)	re.-ro.; q.-ro.; q.-ro.
1609-14	Batalla del honor, La Peribáñez y el comendador	50	14	22	..	2	..	5	..	1 (2)	1 (ses.) 2 (songs)	q.-ro.; q.-ro.; re.-ro.
1610	Buena Guardia, La	56	2	15	..	2	1	12	8	1 (3)	1 (song)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Caballero del Sacramento, El	36	21	15	..	3	4	6	..	1 (2)	6 (ses.)	oct.-re.; q.-ter.; re.-q.
?	Don Juan de Castro, I	38	27	15	..	12	1	3	..	(1)	..	re.-re.; re.-ro.; q.-ro.
?	Don Juan de Castro, II	49	16	20	..	4	..	5	..	1 (3)	..	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; q.-ro.
1610-18	Virtud, pobreza . . .	39	6	40	..	4	4	2	..	1 (2)	..	re.-ro.; re.-su.; re.-ro.
1610-19	Servir a Señor discreto Villana de Getafe, La	51	1	19	..	14	3	6	..	1 (2)	1 (song)	re.-ro.; su.-ro.; re.-ro.
1611	(<i>Not accessible to me</i>) Barlán y Josafá	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	re.-si. or canc.?, re.-ro; q.-ro.
?	Discordia . . . casados	50	4	30	5	3	..	2	..	(1)	3 (canc. silv.?)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
		50	6	27	2	2	7	3	..	1 (3)	..	..

[illegible]

I.—LOPE'S DATED PLAYS—Continued

Date	Title	Redondillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verses	Opening and closing verses in each act. Remarks.
1621-23?	Médico de su honra, El	46	..	42	7	..	..	3	..	..	....	ro.-re.; re.-si.; re.-ro..
1622	Don Gonzalo de Córdoba Juventud de San Isidro (2 acts)	47	..	29	5	17	..	..	..	(1)	....	re.-ro.; re.-oct.-re.-ro
		27	..	38	16	9	..	..	4	1 (3)	3 (songs)	re. (or ro. of song)-ro.; dé.-ro.
1623	Niñez de San Isidro, La	34	..	43	5	10	..	..	(18 ll.)	(1)	4 (ses.)	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.
?	Poder en el discreto, El	36	..	29	26	7	..	1	..	1 (2)	....	dé.-so.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro.
?	Boba para los otros . . .	25	3	49	3	6	..	..	11	..	....	q.-ro.; si.-ro.; si.-ro.
1624	Corona de Hungría, La	35	9	38	9	3	..	1	..	1 (2)	....	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1625	Marqués de las Navas, El	29	..	49	10	1	1	..	6	..	....	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	i Ay, Verdades, que . . .	46	6	30	13	..	..	3 (par.)	..	(1)	....	dé.-ro.; q.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Niñez del padre Rojas, La	40	2	35	11	2	(21 11.)	..	..	..	2 (ses.)	dé.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Brasil restituído, El	34	1	39	18	5	..	1 (par.)	..	..	1 (song)	dé.-ro.; q.-dé.; re.-ro.
?	Esclava de su galán, La	36	3	36	11	3	..	7 (par.)	2	(1)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1626	Amor con vista	43	..	34	4	2	1	(24 ll. par.)	9	(1)	1 (ses.)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
	Piadoso aragonés, El	33	..	31	19	4	4	2 (par.)	1	1 (2)	2 (ses.)	par.-ro.; re.-ro.; ses.-ro.
	Sin Secreto no hay amor	49	..	36	8	2	2	..	1	1 (2)	....	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; dé.-ro.
1627	Del Monte sale quien . . .	33	4	37	10	4	1	..	..	..	5 (ses.)	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1628?	Amar, servir y esperar	21	..	44	12	4	..	2	4 (?)	1 (2)	2	si (?) -ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.

1629	Vida de San Pedro Nolasco, La	26	..	46	6	4	..	..	13	1 (2)	3 (ses.)	si.-ro.; re.-ro.; si.-ro.
	Selva sin amor La (Egloga of one Act)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1631	Castigo sin venganza, El	25	7	44	10	1	4	4(par.)	7	(1)	2 (ses.)	re.-ro.; dé.-q.; ro.-ro.
	Noche de San Juan, La (<i>Not accessible to me</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1631-1632	Moza de cántaro, La	57	..	29	5	5	..	..	..	1 (3)	..	re.-ro.; re.-re.; re.-ro.
1633-1635	Desprecio agradecido, El	13	20	49	4	7	..	..	3	(1)	..	re.-ro.; re.-ro.; re.-ro.
1634	Bizarrafías de Belisa, Las	22	..	54	11	2	..	3(par.)	..	(1)	4 (ses.)	re.-ro.; dé.-ro.; re.-ro.

II.—LOPE'S EARLY PLAYS

	Hechos de Garcilaso . . . (Four Acts)	53	½	..	..	22	17	4	..	(1)	2	ter.-re.; re.-ter.; ter.- re.; oct.-re.
	Pastoral de Jacinto, La (First 3 Act play?)	12	65	..	..	6	2	2	3	1 (3)	6 (ses.)	so.-si.; q.-ses.; q.-re.
	Verdadero Amante, El (Written at 12, 1574?)	47	34	(24 11.)	..	2	6	6	..	..	2	q.-q.; q.-su.; su.-su.
1587?	Belardo furioso, El	40	36	..	..	6	9	5	..	..	..	oct.-q.; q.-re.; q.-re.
	Ingratitud vengada, La	99	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	?
	Soldado amante, El	51	13	4	..	8	3	9	2	1 (2)	1	q.-q.; re.-li.; su.-ter.
1588-1595?	Ganso de oro, El	14	60	..	..	4	7	11	..	1 (3)	..	re.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.
1588-1595?	Hijo venturoso, El	98	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	q.-su.; q.-re.; oct.-re.
	Infanta desesperada, La	63	20	..	..	2	..	13	..	..	(12 11. ses.)	..
1590?	Grao de Valencia, El	69	10	1	..	11	3	11	..	(1)	..	re.-su.; q.-re.; oct.-re.
1593?	Enredos de Benito, Los	87	..	..	..	1	8	2	..	..	..	?
?	Comendadores de Córdoba, Los	63	21	2	1	..	..	5	..	3 (8)	..	q.-re.; re.-re.; re.-re.

III.—FIVE OF JUAN DE LA CUEVA'S PLAYS (*Four Acts*)

Date	Title	Rondodillas	Quintillas	Romances	Décimas	Octaves	Tercets	Sueltos	Silvas	Sonnets	Miscellaneous verse	Opening and closing verses in each act Remarks
1579	Muerte de Don Sancho, La	60	..	..	..	38	2	..	..	..	2 (can.)	can.-re.; oct.-re.; oct.- oct.; oct.-oct.
	Ajax	63	..	..	..	31	2	..	..	1 (2)	...	oct.-oct.; son.-re.; oct.- re.; ter.-oct.
	Tutor, El	91	..	..	..	4	3	..	..	1 (1)	....	son.-re.; ter.-re.; oct.- re.; oct.-re.
1580	Virginia y Appio Claudio	37	..	..	..	57	3	..	..	1 (1)	....	ter.-re.; oct.-re.; son.- oct.; oct.-oct.
	Príncipe tirano, El (<i>comedia</i>)	35	..	..	..	64	2	..	..	..	....	oct.-oct.; oct.-oct.; ter.- oct.; oct.-oct.

IV.—FOUR OF CERVANTES'S PLAYS

1580?	Numancia (<i>Four Acts</i>)	20	..	..	57	19	1	..	..	....	oct.-oct.; oct.-re.; oct.-re.; re.; oct.-oct.
?	Trato de Argel, El (<i>Four Acts</i>)	42	7?	..	..	16	21	..	..	1 (ses.)	re.-re.; q.-su.; su.-su.; ses.-oct.
1600?	Gran Sultana, La	36	29	17	..	1	..	..	(1)	....	ter.-son.; re.-re.; su?
1614?	Baños de Argel, Los	12	65	4	..	2	5 (?)	1 (?)	..	....	(st?)-su. ter.-q.; q.-q.; su.-re.

V.—THREE OF CALDERON'S PLAYS

1632-1635?	Vida es sueño, La	17	4	57	10	1	..	..	9	....	si.-ro.; ro.-dé.; ro.-ro.
1637	Mágico Prodigioso, El	16	8	60	5	..	..	..	8	....	ro.-ro.; re.-ro.; si.-ro.
1680?	Hado y divisa de Leónido	10	1-	85	..	..	..	..	3	....	ro.-ro.; ro.-ro.; ro.-ro (riming couplet)

University of Toronto Studies

PHILOLOGICAL SERIES

No. 7

THEODORE GAZA'S DE FATO

FIRST EDITION

CONTAINING THE ORIGINAL GREEK, WITH
INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

JOHN WILSON TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
MCMXXV

PREFACE

In publishing this first edition of Theodore Gaza's *De Fato*, the editor wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness, in the first instance, to the late Dr. Wendland, whose careful collation of three manuscripts, made about thirty years ago for Dr. Ludwig Stein, is the basis of this edition. For the use of the collation, the editor is under obligation to Dr. Stein, who magnanimously gave permission for the publication of the work in America.

Gratitude is due also to Dr. N. W. DeWitt for carrying the collation from Dr. Stein in Berlin, Germany, to America; to Professor G. S. Brett for corrections and many helpful suggestions in the text and translation of the work; and particularly to the Library of the University of Toronto, which made possible the appearance of this edition by consenting to render available funds covering the cost of its publication.

JOHN WILSON TAYLOR

New York City
May, 1925

INTRODUCTION

Theodore Gaza was a Greek born in Saloniki at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He went to Constantinople about 1422, shortly before the city was besieged by the Sultan Murad II. During the siege he found himself in straightened circumstances and, being too proud to beg, he rented a piece of land, on which he grew produce sufficient to support himself. His fortunes soon improved and, after becoming an intimate of Philelphus, secretary to the Emperor John V, he opened a school in Constantinople. Among his pupils were Syropoulos and Chalcondyles, both of whom later became known as humanists. In these years he apparently took orders with a view to becoming a priest. In 1440 Byzantium's last hope of aid from Rome against the Saracens was extinguished, and in that year Gaza went to Italy, where scholars often found patrons in princes and wealthy citizens.

After his arrival in Italy, Gaza's first need was to acquire a knowledge of Latin. This he did with conspicuous success at the school of Vittorino da Feltre, where, during a three years' course, friends of Philelphus provided him with financial support. In 1447, he became a professor at Ferrara, and the same year he was promoted to the rectorship. The next year a professorship at Florence was offered to him, and in 1451 he was invited to Rome to make translations for Pope Nicholas V. These were mainly of scientific works of Aristotle, but he found time also to turn Cicero's *De Senectute* into Greek. After the pope's death in 1455, Gaza was similarly employed by Alphonso, tyrant of Naples, until the latter's death in 1458. He next applied for patronage to Bessarion, a Greek who, having left Constantinople for Rome in 1438, had entered the Roman Church and become cardinal of Rome. Bessarion befriended Gaza, and in 1465 secured for him a parish in Calabria. Apart from the years 1465-1467, Gaza appears to have spent most of his time at Rome, where he was associated with Bessarion and Andrea, bishop of Alaria, in producing an edition of Pliny, and, after Bessarion's death in 1472, with Andrea alone, in preparing an edition of Aulus Gellius. He retired to his parish in 1477, and died the next year.¹

In addition to the translations mentioned, Gaza wrote several works that have been printed and a number that still exist only in manuscript form. He is already known as the author of one of the first systematic Greek grammars in Latin. A treatise on the origin of the Turks, an encomium on the dog, and some letters from his hand appear in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CLXI.

¹Cf. *Der Humanist Gaza als Philosoph* by Dr. Ludwig Stein in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, II, 426 ff.

Besides the *De Fato*, there are at least three philosophical tracts hitherto unprinted: (1) *ὅτι ἡ φύσις οὐ βουλεύεται* (often wrongly referred to as *ὅτι ἡ φύσις βουλεύεται*)¹, (2) *πρὸς Πλήθωνα ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους* and (3) *ἀντιρρητικόν*. (1) and (2), written in 1459, were, like the *De Fato*, polemics against Pletho, and (3) was a reply to Argyropoulos in behalf of Bessarion,² written in 1470 or 1471. There is some ground for thinking that still another polemic was written against Pletho, covering in part the same ground as the *De Fato*, but, if it was, there is as yet no generally known printed record of its survival.³

Dr. Ludwig Stein,⁴ after consulting the manuscripts of these tracts, wrote that they attract one by their highly realistic and purely philosophic tone. Of their author he said: "If one speaks of genuine philosophers of the fifteenth century, along with Gemistus Pletho and Marsilio Ficino, there is no better claim than that of Theodore Gaza. . . . He was the only one in the fifteenth century who, in spite of his ecclesiastical appointment, represented a pure Aristotelianism entirely free from every theological contamination."

The date of the *De Fato* cannot be exactly determined. It is a reply to Pletho's doctrine of necessity, and seems to be related most closely to two letters from Pletho to Bessarion⁵ that are printed in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLXI, 713 ff. and 721 ff. These letters are of uncertain date, but, as Gaza was befriended by Bessarion only in 1458, he cannot be supposed to have seen the

¹Cf. *A Misunderstood Tract by Theodore Gaza*, by the author, *Archiv f. G. der Phil.*, XXXIII, 150 ff.

²Cf. the author's *Pletho's Criticism of Plato and Aristotle* (George Banta Pub. Co., Menasha, Wis., 1921), pp. 16 f.

³Cf. 26, 2 and note.

⁴*Der Humanist Gaza als Philosoph*, 429, 427.

⁵Gaspary (*Pletho's Criticism*, 10, n. 25) had already maintained that this correspondence between Pletho and Bessarion was the occasion for the *De Fato*. It becomes practically certain in view of the following parallels: (1) Gaza states that Bessarion does well in his *Defense of Plato* to insist on both free will (the voluntary) and necessity (29, 7). Bessarion does this in these letters (*Pletho's Criticism*, p. 10). (2) Gaza argues in detail for the reconciliation of *τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον* and *τὸ ἀναγκαῖον* (27, 28 ff.). Bessarion stated in the letters that, according to Proclus, whom he plainly favoured, God knew *ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLXI, 718 A). (3) Gaza used the same quotation from Plato's *Republic*, 716 E, as did Bessarion to show Plato's belief in free will (27, 12 and Migne, *ibid.*). (4) Gaza stated that Pletho meant by necessity only that which could not be otherwise (27, 14). Pletho states in these letters alone among his discussions of the subject that this is what he means by the term (Migne, *ibid.*, 722D).

letters before this year. He therefore wrote at least eight years after Pletho's death. This, however, was not the first tract that Gaza wrote against Pletho. It was preceded either by the *De Consultatione Naturae*, written early in 1459, or by an unknown tract. It would be not unlikely that Gaza should have written it no great time after obtaining access to the letters. Moreover, Aristotle's scientific works, which he had been translating prior to 1458, were still fresh in his mind, as we may infer from the fact that they suggested to him several examples used in the *De Fato*. The work might provisionally be assigned to the year 1460.

The relation of the *De Fato* to the whole debate between the Platonists and the Aristotelians was indicated by the author in *Pletho's Criticism* (p. 19), before he had access to the text. It was not dated at all in that treatment, but was numbered third among the tracts of the debate. If, as seems likely, it is as late as 1460, it should be numbered seventh instead of third. The surmise that it was also an answer to the *De Differentia* should be withdrawn.

Specifically, the tract is an answer to Pletho's uncompromising determinism. Pletho had maintained that, in order to find room for chance or free will, one would have to disprove either that nothing arises from nothing¹ or that every cause acts in a definite and determined way.² To those who objected that, if all were fixed by law, there was no room for divine guidance of the universe and no benefit in prayer, he had replied that fixed law was God's will and that any definite request for God's intervention was not only useless but impious, since it implied either that God had intended to bring a worse thing to pass or that He might be corrupted into a departure from the best.³

Gaza did not reply to Pletho's arguments on their merits, but attacked his assumption of having Plato's authority for the position. In the first part of the tract, he argued that Plato and Aristotle agreed in admitting the existence of both free will and necessity and, in the second part, he maintained a like thesis in regard to chance and necessity.

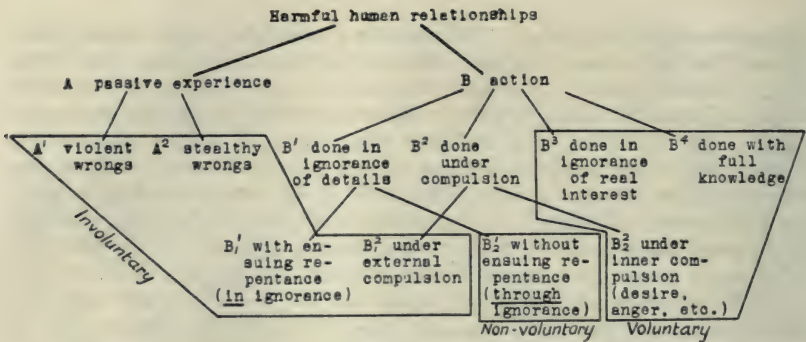
The plan of the first part may be followed more readily with the help of the accompanying diagram, which represents the classification of voluntary and involuntary wrongs as made by Aristotle and adopted by Gaza.

The tract opens with a number of paradoxical statements quoted from Plato and Aristotle. These Gaza proposed to explain

¹Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I, 150.

²I.e., does not, *quâ* cause, disappear. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 216.

³Cf. *Pletho's Criticism*, 88, n. 34.



in such a way as to show that Plato and Aristotle did not really differ in their opinions. Having adopted Aristotle's classification of voluntary and involuntary wrongs, he explained three of the paradoxes, and then proceeded to the main part of the reconciliation. This consisted first in suppressing the distinction between involuntary and non-voluntary and fusing class B^3 and sub-class B^2_1 . These two divisions were thus made non-voluntary, which had become the same as involuntary (22,14—22,21). The next step was, by ignoring the difference between A and B, to identify B^4 with A^1 and A^2 , so that B^4 might also be described as involuntary (22,22—23,14). The concluding step in this stage of the reconciliation was to show that B^2_2 also should be included in the involuntary (24,14—24,29), but it was preceded by an additional reason why B^3 should be considered involuntary (23,15—23,22) and by a paragraph in which an attempt was made to fit sub-classes B^1_1 and B^1_2 and the fused class comprising B^3 and B^2_1 into a classification made by Plato on a wholly different principle (23,23—24,5). The first stage, then, consisted in showing that Aristotle might equally well have admitted that all wrongs are involuntary.

The second stage was to demonstrate that Plato admitted the possibility of voluntary wrongs. This was done by showing that Plato (1) used language that implied a belief in the voluntary nature of wrongs (25, 1 ff.); (2) legislated for his ideal state on the assumption that evil is voluntary (25, 8 f.); and (3) quoted without strong disapproval a popular saying which spoke of voluntary wrongs (25,11—25,19).

The second part of the tract is a discussion of necessity in nature and is aimed more directly at Pletho. It opens by reproducing, with some significant changes, the passage of the *Metaphysics* where Aristotle described the different senses in which the term necessity might be used. The fourth sense of the term as given by Gaza is not found in Aristotle's account at all. It is

that necessity which is found in matter and the motions of matter (26, 9 f.). This is the necessity of an event issuing in one of two ways ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$), of which the actual issue is determined by chance (27, 1—27, 8) or the action of God (28, 17). God may cause an event to have one issue rather than another by changing the likely ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$) into what actually will happen ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$), in case the two happen to be different. What actually will happen is fixed by God (27, 2; 28, 1—28, 12). Its fixed character is due to a fifth kind of necessity, that dependent on a supposition (28, 19—28, 30; 26, 21 ff.). This type of necessity is apparently intended to be the one mentioned last by Aristotle, that of a syllogism depending on necessary premises. Gaza's examples, however, serve rather to confuse than to clarify his meaning. They appear to be reducible to two forms: (a) if X is to be, then Y must be (28, 26), and (b) if X is, then X (or its elements) necessarily is (or are) (26, 11). The latter appears to be merely a tautology or, at any rate, a necessity like the *necessitas consequentiae* of Thomas Aquinas, the impossibility of a thing being what it is not (St. Thomas 1. Dist. 38. q. un. a. 5. ad 3). Even the form (a) will not bear close scrutiny. In reference to it, X *is* = $\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ and X *is* or X *is not* = $\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$. Suppose X *is* turns out to be $\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$. Then Y becomes necessary; otherwise Y is not necessary. Therefore Y's necessity and not that of $\tau\acute{o}$ $\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, as Gaza states, is dependent on the supposition. There is a further obscurity in that this last kind of necessity is defined by reference to inanimate nature but is assumed, without further explanation, to have application also to human action (29, 3; 26, 23). The tract ends with a restatement of the essential agreement of Plato and Aristotle in their rejection of such an absolute determinism as Pletho held.

It is true that, in the fifteenth century, it was difficult to argue a philosophical question without making one's discussion an apology for Christianity or a polemic against it. Pletho did not altogether escape the latter temptation, but Gaza made no attempt to escape the former. With him philosophy was the willing handmaid of theology. He praised Bessarion for having treated the subject *as became a Christian philosopher* (29, 10). Moreover, he failed to appreciate the difference in the points of view of Plato and Aristotle in their discussions of the problem at issue—psychological and metaphysical in the one case and legal in the other. His frequent misunderstanding of passages and his ignoring of pertinent differences were plainly the results of his predetermined conclusion that the meaning of the two philosophers was identical. I cannot therefore agree with Dr. Stein that Gaza represented a pure Aristotelianism free from theological contamination. As a philosopher he deserves to rank with his patron Bessarion, whose battles he fought, rather than with Pletho, who, at the very least,

did something to deliver philosophy from the obligation of reaching conclusions agreed to in advance.

This text of Gaza's *De Fato* is derived from a collation made by the late Dr. Wendland of the following three manuscripts: (1) in the Laurentian Library, plut. 55, 9, pp. 49-57 (L); (2) in the Vatican Library, codex 1393, pp. 34 ff. (V); (3) in the Regia Christia Library at the Vatican, codex 164, pp. 25 ff. (R).

The text of R is the most corrupt. I have counted forty-seven palpable errors in it which were not present in either of the other manuscripts, as against nine in L and six in V. L and R appear to be less closely related to each other than either of them is to V. In no case do they agree in any error, except when all the manuscripts are incorrect. L and V agree in seven errors as compared with six in which R and V agree, those cases not being counted in which the three share the same error.

Twenty-four corrections and emendations have been introduced, most of them slight and such as seemed necessary to make the text intelligible or orthographically and syntactically sound. They are as follows: 11, 8; 11, 18; 12, 21; 13, 4; 13, 12; 13, 18; 13, 29; 14, 8; 14, 15; 14, 22; 14, 24; 15, 8; 15, 23; 15, 26; 16, 24; 16, 29; 16, 30; 17, 11; 17, 14; 17, 18; 17, 25; 18, 4; 18, 14; 18, 15. The *apparatus criticus* indicates the change in each case. Irrespective of the manuscript readings and without notation of variations among them, δ has been written instead of θ in *οὐδὲ*s and *μηδὲ*s, the second γ has been retained in *γίγνεσθαι* and $\tau\tau$ has been written instead of $\sigma\sigma$ in *πράττειν* and *ῥττων*. Incorrect accentuation has been rectified without record in the *apparatus criticus*.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΚΟΤΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΤΣΙΟΥ

Περὶ δὲ ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου ἀπορήσειεν ἂν τις εἰς τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς πράξις γε ἀποβλέπων· τὸ γὰρ πρακτὸν ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν. ταῦτό δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ ὀρεκτόν. ὄρεξις γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ὄντος ἢ φαινομένου.

- 5 Δόξειε δ' ἂν ἀτοπον εἶ τις ἀγαθοῦ ὀρεγόμενος καὶ πράττων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τι, ἀκουσίως πράττειν τε καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι λέγοιτο. καὶ αὖ εἰ ἐκὼν τις πράττοι τὰ φαῦλα καὶ πράττων ἀνέχοιτο ἀδοξίαν ἑαυτῷ περιποιεῖν καὶ πορίζεσθαι τὰ κακὰ ὑφ' ὧν ἂν ἀπόλοιτο, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἑαυτῷ, καίτοι ἄνθρωπος φύσει φυλακτικὸς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ πεφυκὼς πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ
10 συμφέρον διώκειν. ἔτι δὲ ἀτοπώτερον εἰ ἄκων γε πλημμελεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ οὐσης πράττειν καὶ μὴ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα εἰδῶς, οἷον τίνα, τί, περὶ τί, τίνι, ἔνεκα τίνος, πῶς. ἀτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπ' ἀκουσίους δίκην διδόναι καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἐκουσίους ἔτι δοκεῖ. εἰ γὰρ ἄκων τις πράττει, συγγνώμης ἄξιος. εἰ δ' ἐκὼν ὀρεγόμενος ἀγαθοῦ, πῶς δίκαιον τιμωρεῖσθαι τὸν μετιόντα τι
15 ἀγαθόν. πολλῶ δ' ἀτοπώτερον τὸ ἐπὶ βιαίους. οὐδὲν γὰρ συμβάλλεται ὁ πράττων ἢ ὁ πάσχων ἐν τῇ τῶν βιαιῶν ἀρχῇ.

Γίνεται γὰρ μὴν ταῦτα καὶ λέγεται πράξει μὲν τινα ὀρεγόμενον, ἀκουσίως δέ. οἱ τε γὰρ χειμαζομένης τῆς νεῶς ἐκβάλλοντες τὰ φορτία ἐφ' ᾧ σώζεσθαι ἄκοντες οὕτω δρᾶν λέγονται.

- 20 Καὶ Πλάτων μὲν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐλλογίμων μηδένα ἐκόντα ἀλλὰ πάντας ἄκοντας πράττειν τὰ φαῦλα φησὶν. βία δὲ τοὺς διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐταῖρός τε Πλάτωνος καὶ τὰ περὶ σοφίαν οὐχ ἡττων δοκῶν πάντα ὄντινόν φαῦλον ἐκόντα πράττειν τὰ κακὰ οἶται. διὸ καὶ προσαπορητέον αὐτῷ πῶς ἄμφω ὄντες οἶδε σοφοὶ πάμπαν διαφωνοῦντες
25 ἀλλήλοις τυγχάνουσι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ τοὶ ὁμοίους καὶ ὅμοια φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν χρεών. τὸ μὲν οὖν αἵρεσιν καταστησάμενους τὸν μὲν ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ μὴ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε ἕμοιγε οὐκ ἀποδεκτέον. διαιροῦντας δὲ καὶ διορίζοντας τὰ τοῦτοις διαπορούμενα λύειν προθυμητέον καὶ συμβιβαστέον τῷ ἀνδρὲ ἐφ' οἷς διαφέρειν δοκεῖτον σκοπούμενους τὰ περὶ τὴν
30 ἐννοίαν ἐκατέρου, ἀλλὰ μὴ λέξιν περιεργαζομένους καὶ ἐρίζοντας μάτην διαλεκτέον.

7. πράττειν LV. ἑαυτῷ post περιποιεῖν L. 8. καίτοι scripsi.

10-11. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ οὐσης πράττειν καὶ μὴ post καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα L.

11-12. εἰδῶς . . . πῶς in marg. L.

15-16. πολλῶ . . . ἀρχῇ in marg. L.

18. ἐφῷ codd. Correxī.

21. φησί R. 21-22. βία δὲ τοὺς διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν in marg. L.

23. ἡττων L. 24. αὖ] νῦν R. 25. γὰρ τοι] γὰρ L. 26. αἵρεσιν LV.

28. τοῦτοις] corr. ex. ταυτ R. ταύτῃ LV. 29. τῷ] τε V.

30. ὥς post ἀλλὰ R. τὴν post μὴ R.

Λέγομεν δὴ ἐκούσιον μὲν ὃ ἂν τις τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὄντων εἰδὼς πράττη
καὶ μὴ ἀγνοῶν μὴθ' ὃν μὴθ' ὧ μὴθ' οὐ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστα μὴ κατὰ
συμβεβηκὸς μηδὲ βία πράττη. ἀκούσιον δὲ οὐ ἢ μὲν ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ πράττοντι,
κατ' ἀγνοίαν δὲ τι τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα γιγνόμενον καὶ ἐπιλυπὸν τε καὶ ἐν
5 μεταμελείᾳ ὄν. ἔτι τε τὸ βίαιον καὶ τὸ βία πραττόμενον. τὸ δὲ δι' ἀγνοίαν
οὐχ ἐκούσιον μὲν ἅπαν. ἀκούσιον δὲ τὸ ἐν μεταμελείᾳ καὶ λυπηρόν· ὃ δὴ
καὶ συγγνωμονικὸν ἂν εἴη. διαφερέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ δι' ἀγνοίαν πράττειν τοῦ
ἀγνοοῦντα πράττειν. καὶ συγγνωμονικὰ μὲν ἔστω ὅσα μὴ ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλὰ
δι' ἀγνοίαν ἁμαρτάνουσιν καὶ πεπραχότες δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει.
10 οὐ συγγνωμονικὰ δὲ ὅσα μὴ δι' ἀγνοίαν ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦντες, μὴ διὰ πάθος δὲ
μήτε φυσικὸν μήτε ἀνθρωπικόν.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ὑποκεισθω. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα λυτέον τοὺς ἐναντίους
τῶν λόγων καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις δοξάζοντας
ἐναντίον ἀποδεικτέον.

15 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀκουσίως ὀρεγόμενόν τινα πράττειν, ἀπλῶς μὲν οὕτω φάναι,
οὐκ ἀληθές, πως δὲ καὶ πῃ ἀληθές. ἔστι καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀποβαλλομένους ἐν
τοῖς χειμῶσιν ἀπλῶς μὲν ἀκουσίως πράττειν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἀπλῶς ἔλοιτο
τὰ ὄντα ἀποβαλεῖν, πῃ δὲ ἐκουσίως· ἢ μέλλοιεν ἂν ταύτῃ σώζεσθαι
γενόμενοι ἐν κινδύνῳ. οἷον δὴ πού καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρῳ λεχθέν· ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε
20 θυμῷ. οὐ δὴ ἄτοπον εἰ κατὰ τι μὲν ἐκουσίως, ἀπλῶς δὲ ἀκουσίως ἢ πράξις.
ἀλλ' εἰ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως γε ἀκουσίως, τό γε ἐκόντα τινα πράττειν
τὰ φαῦλα ἀληθῶς μὲν λέγεται, ἐκούσιον γὰρ ἦν οὐ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ πράττοντι
εἰδοῖσι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ ἡ πράξις μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μηδὲ
βία. τοῦτι δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φαύλων ὑπάρχει. ἄτοπον δὲ οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ ὃ
25 πράττων τὰ φαῦλα τυγχάνει ὀρεγόμενος τῶν φαύλων ἢ φαῦλα καὶ ἐναντία
τε καὶ φθαρτικά ἐαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἢ ἀγαθὰ καὶ φυλακτικά· ἢ γὰρ ὡς συμφερόντων
ἢ ὡς ἡδέων αὐτῷ. διττὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἢ γὰρ τὸ ὄν ἢ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ
ὄρεξις γε ἀμφοῖν, τῷ μὲν σπουδαίῳ τοῦ ὄντος τῷ δὲ φαύλῳ τοῦ φαινομένου.
καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι δὲ δίκαιον τοὺς τοιοῦτους, οὐχ ὅτι ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνουσιν
30 ὀρεγόμενοι ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦ μὴ ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ὡς ὄντος. φαῦλον γὰρ τὸ
τοιοῦτο. ὥστε συμβαίνει δὴ ὀρέγεσθαι φαῖλον ὀρεγομένῳ ἀγαθοῦ. ἔφεσις
γε κακοῦ οὐδενὶ πλὴν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς· πᾶσαν γὰρ πράξιν τε καὶ
προαίρεσιν ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐφίεσθαι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λέγοντος ἔστιν ἀκούειν.

1. ἐαυτῷ ὄντων] ἐαυτὸν R. ἐαυτῶν ὄντων V. πράττει R. 2. ὄν V.
5. βίαιον καὶ τὸ in marg. L. 7-8. τοῦ ἀγνοοῦντα πράττειν om. R.
8. σεγνωμονικὰ V. 9. καὶ πεπραχότες. . . πράξει in marg. L.
16. καὶ γὰρ] γὰρ καὶ L.
16-17. ἀποβαλλομένους ἐν τοῖς χειμῶσι] ἐκβάλλοντας τὰ φορτία in rasura
et in marg. ἄλλως/τοὺς ἀποβαλλομένους τὰ φορτία L.
17. ἔλοιτο] ὄναιτο R. 18. τὰ] τὸ R. 20. οὐ δὴ] οὐδὲ R.
21. ταυτα R. ταυτὰ V. καὶ ὡσαύτως γε ἀκουσίως, τό γε ἐκόντα om. R.
τὸ δὲ LV. 22. γὰρ post μὲν R. 24. ὑπάρχει R. οὐδὲν om. R.
26. φθαρτικά] φοντικά R.
27. αὐτῷ RV. δὲ om. R. 31. τοιοῦτον R. ὥστε καὶ R. ὥς γε V.
32. γε] τε RV.
32-33. πᾶσαν γὰρ . . . ἀκούειν in marg. L. 33. λέγον R.

- Οὐκ ἔξω μέντοι κακίας ᾧ συμβέβηκεν· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ὀρέγεται συμβαίνει τῷ λόγῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ φαῦλος ἀπλῶς τε καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπερ ὀρεγόμενος πράττει φαῦλον ὁμοίως. μοχθηρῶς τε πράττει ἀπλῶς ὀρεγόμενος τοῦ ἀπλῶς φαύλου ὡς του τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἄκοντι δὲ συγγνώμη ὡς μεταμελομένη·
- 5 τῷ μὲν γὰρ δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἐν μεταμελείᾳ συγγνώμη, τῷ δὲ μὴ μεταμελομένῳ οὐ. ἐγγὺς γὰρ οὗτός γε τοῦ ἀγνοοῦντός τε καὶ ἐκόντος καὶ ὡς ἀγνοῶν ἔστω. ἐγγὺς δ' ὄντες κἂν μεταδοῖεν ἀλλήλοις εὐλόγως τοῦ ἰδίου ὀνόματος. ὡς τὸν τε δι' ἄγνοιαν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ μὴ μεταμελόμενον ἐκόντα πῶς καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἡμαρτηκέναι λέγεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα αὖ
- 10 καὶ ἐκόντα ἁμαρτάνοντα δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ οὐχ ἐκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα ἁμαρτάνειν.
- Ὡς περ ἄρα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀκούσια συναλλάγματα λέγει οὐ τὰ βλαία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λαθραῖα· οἷον κλοπὴν, μοιχείαν, φαρμακείαν, προαγωγείαν, δουλαπατίαν, δολοφονίαν, ψευδομαρτυρίαν. ἀκούσια γὰρ ταῦτα, ὡς οὐχ ἐκούσια ἂν εἴη. ὁ τε γὰρ πάσχων ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἁμαρτάνει,
- 15 βλαία τε οὐκ ἔστιν οἷς δὴ ὥρισται τὸ ἀκούσιον. ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς ἐκὼν μὲν πράττει τὰ μοχθηρὰ ὅτι εἰδὼς τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ πρᾶξις, ἄκων δὲ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν μοχθηρὸς, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν. οὐδὲ βούλεται τις ὁ μὴ οἶετα σπουδαῖον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης συνωδᾷ Πλάτῳ λέγει. οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄρα βούλεται τις τὰ φαῦλα καὶ βουλευσάμενός τε καὶ κρίνας ὀρέγεται κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν. τοῦτο
- 20 δ' ἐστὶν ἡ προαίρεσις. βουλευτὰ δὲ καὶ προαιρετὰ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ ἡ πρᾶξις, καὶ οὐχ ἐκὼν τοῖνυν πράττει τὰ φαῦλα ὁ μοχθηρὸς, ἦν δὲ τις τῶν οὐχ ἐκόντων καὶ ἄκων. ὅθεν δὴ Πλάτων μὲν εἰς τὸ κακόν, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἰς τὸ λαθραῖον, μετενεγκὼν τῷ τοῦ ἀκουσίου ὀνόματι χρῆται.
- 25 Ἔτι δὲ οὐδ' εἰ τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐ βούλεται λέγεσθαι εἰ τις ἀγνοεῖ τὸ συμφέρον ἀλλ' εἰ τι τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα πραττομένων, διὰ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπαράδεκτον ἂν εἴη τοῦνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ συμφέρον γε ἀγνοοῦντος· ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τὸ συμφέρον. οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄρα καὶ μεταλαμβάνεται τοῦνομα, ἄκων ὥς περ καὶ ἀκούσια τὰ λαθραῖα.
- 30 Τριχῶς δὴ ὁ ἄκων. ἥτοι γὰρ ὁ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ ὁ ὡς ἀγνοῶν ἢ ὁ ἀγνοῶν, ὧν τὸν μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν Πλάτων ἀγνοίᾳ συνέχεσθαι ἀπλῇ λέγει·

1. ἀγαθὸν τοιοῦτο post κακίας in marg. L.

3-4. μοχθηρῶς . . . τῶν ἀγαθῶν in marg. L.

4. ὡς του scripsi. ὡς τοῦ codd. μεταμελομένῳ R.

5. τῷ δὲ μὴ] ὡς R.

7. ἐγγὺς usque ad θηριότητος (p. 14, l. 14) in marg. L.

9. λέγεσθαι] λογιζεσθαι R. 11. συναλλάγματα R. τὰ] γὰρ R.

12. λαθρέα R. φαρμακίαν R. 13. προαγωγίαν codd. δουλοφονίαν R. δολοφονίαν LV.

17-18. ὁ μὴ . . . τις om. R. 18. συνωδᾷ codd.. 20. βουλευτὰ L.

20. τὰ om. R. 21. περὶ ἃ] πρὸς R. 24. χρῆσθαι R.

27-28. γε ἀγνοοῦντος . . . συμφέρον om. R.

29. μεταλαμβάνεται] μεταλαμβάνοντι codd.

30. ὁ post primum ἢ om. R. 30-31. ἢ ὁ ἀγνοῶν om. R.

31. ἀγνοίᾳ om. R. Lemma ad Πλάτων L: σφαλλόμενον τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξης ἐνίστε ἁμαρτάνειν λέγει. Cf. p. 15, ll. 8, 9.

τὸν δ' ἀγνοοῦντα διπλῇ· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἀγνοῶν οὐτ' ἀγνοεῖ οὔτε οἶδε. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκὼν ὅτι πέπραχεν ὁ μὴ ᾔδει. ἔστω ὡς διπλῇ ἀμαθαινῶν ἀγνοία. τῷ μὲν οὖν δι' ἄγνοιαν συγγνωστέον, τῷ δὲ ὡς ἀγνοοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι οὐ συγγνωστέον.

- 5 Διττὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ βίαιον, τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ δὲ ἔνδοθεν. ὁ τε γὰρ παρ' ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς πράττων βία λέγεται πράττειν καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ πνεύματος βία ποι ἐνεχθεὶς βία ἠνέχθη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἔξωθεν βιαίους οὐδεὶς ἐπιτιμᾷ, τοῖς δ' ἔνδοθεν πᾶς νοὺν ἔχων. ὁ γὰρ ἀκρατὴς βία μὲν πράττει ὅτι παρὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς, οὐ μέντοι ἀναίτια. ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ
10 οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γέγονεν ἀκρατὴς. ἀρ' οὖν καὶ ὁ διὰ κακίαν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς δυναστεύμενος βία ἂν πράττοι τὰ κακά, ὡς Πλάτων φησί; βία γε. (εἴ τι κἂν τοῦτοις παρὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς.) ἔοικε δὲ μὴ πάντῃ πάντως ἀλογίστους καὶ ἀσυνέτους τῶν καλῶν εἶναι τοὺς κακοὺς. τριῶν γὰρ ὄντων τῶν περὶ τὰ ἥθη φευκῶν, κακίας, ἀκρασίας, θηριότητος, ἐν ἀπάσῃ ἴσως
15 κακία καὶ ἀκρασία ἐπινοεῖν δεῖ ἀμῶς γέ πως εἰ μὴ τις ἐπὶ τὸ θηριῶδες ἦθος ὑπερβολὴ εἴη. καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν βία καὶ ἄκων λέγοιτο ἕκαστος πράττειν τὰ φαῦλα ὡς ἀγόμενος προπετέστερον εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. ὥστε καὶ πάλιν οὐ κακῶς Πλάτων ἄκοντας τῶν φαύλων τοὺς διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἡδονὴν ἀμαρτάνοντας πράττειν φησίν. ἀκούσιον γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ βίαιον.
20 Τοῖς δὲ παραιτούμενοις ἢ ἀπολογουμένοις οὐδὲν προὔργου τὸ βία, τοῦτό γε τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ ἄγον. τιμωρητῆα γὰρ ὅτι εἰς τοῦτό τις ἐκὼν ἦκοι ὥστε ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ βία ῥαδιουργεῖν.

Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων διενηνόχασιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων οὕτω περὶ ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου εἰπόντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκουσίως

1. Post διπλῇ add. in marg. L τῷ μὲν οὖν δι' ἄγνοιαν συγγνωστέον· Post ἀγνοῶν, ἐπειδὴ L. Post οἶδε, ἐκὼν L. 3. ἄγνοιαν] ἄγνωϊαν L.

6. λογικούς R. 7. βιαίος L. 8. ἐπιτιμᾷ codd. πῶς R.

15. ἀκρασίας LV ἀκρασία τι R. ὁμως RV ἄλλως L.

16. βία καὶ in marg. L.

17-22. ὥστε . . . ραδιουργεῖν in marg. L; in ras. καὶ οὖν Πλάτων ποτὲ μὲν πάντα φαῦλον ἄκοντα εἶναι φαῦλον φησὶ ποτὲ δὲ βουλόμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα. ἄκοντα δὲ ὡς ἐτέρως καὶ αὐτὸς φησι τὸν δι' ἄγνοιαν. Λέγων δίκαιον(?) μὲν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξαν κρατοῦσαν ἐν ψυχαῖς καὶ διακοσμοῦσαν. εἰδὼς δὲ σφάλλεται (sc. σφάλληται) τι δοξάζεσθαι(?) ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην. δύσεριν τε τὸν περὶ ὀνομάτων λόγον καλεῖ. ὡς ἄρα ὁμολογῶν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούσιον τὸ δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἐπίλυπον, τιθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἀκούσιον τὸ ἀγνοοῦντος καὶ ἥκιστα ἀχθομένου ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει. ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω φράζει· “ἄγνοιαν λέγων ἂν τις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αἰτίαν, οὐκ ἂν ψεύδοιτο”. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκούσιον ὡς ἐτέρως ἂν λέγεσθαι οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀπαξιοῖ λέγων· “ἡδονὴν γε φαμέν δυναστεύουσιν πράττειν πᾶν ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτῆς ἢ βούλησις ἐβέλθη. τὸ γὰρ βούλεσθαι τε καὶ ἐθέλειν οὐκ ἄκοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκόντος ἐστί. μηδ' ἔστω μηδ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὀνομάτων ὁ λόγος δύσερις.

22. ραδιουργεῖν codd. 24. καὶ post ἐκουσίως codd.

τοὺς φαύλους τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττειν φησίν, ὁ δὲ ἀκουσίως ἢ ὡς οὐχ ἐκόντας ἢ ὡς βία καὶ κρατουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. ἐπεὶ ὡς ἐτέρως γε ἐκόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς λέγει πράττειν τοὺς μοχθηροὺς, ὥδε φράζων ἡδονὴν δὲ φάμεν δυναστεύουσιν πράττειν ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτῆς ἡ βούλησις ἐβελήσῃ. τὸ 5 γὰρ βούλεσθαι τε καὶ ἐθέλειν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἄκοντος ἀλλ' ἐκόντος ἐστίν. ὥς μὲν οὖν ἐκόντας ὡς δ' ἄκοντας οἶεται πράττειν νόμους τε περὶ ἐκουσίων ἀδικημάτων τίθεται ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκόντας τινὰς ὑπειληφώς κακουργεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκούσιον τὸ δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἐπίλυπον λέγει, ὁ δὲ τὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξης ἔσθ' ὅτε σφαλλόμενον. καίτοι λέγων δὴ καὶ ὅτι ἡ τοῦ 10 ἀρίστου δόξα κρατοῦσα ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ διακοσμοῦσα ἐὰν σφάλῃται τι δοξάζεται ἀδικεῖν ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν οὐ πᾶν τι ἐναντιοῦται τῇ δόξῃ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ ὀνομάτων λόγον δύσεριν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἥκιστα ἀποδεχόμενος, ἄλλως ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν ὀνομάζει τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα. εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀκούσιον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀλογίστους καλοῦ τε 15 καὶ ἀρετῆς ὄντας ἦττον μὲν ἢ κατὰ θηριώδεις μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ κατὰ ἀκρατεῖς, τοῦτό γε διαφορὰν ὀνόματος μᾶλλον ἢ νοήματος ἔχον θορυβεῖ τοὺς μᾶλλον φιλαριστοτέλεις ὄντας ἢ φιλοσόφους· ἐπεὶ ταῦτό δὴ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης βουλόμενος λέγει προστιθεὶς τὸ μηδὲ βία ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐκουσίου λόγῳ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ μήποτε ἐκὼν πράξει τὰ φαῦλα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢ φαῦλα, βία δ' ἂν 20 πράξειεν. ἔστι γὰρ τὰ βία ἢ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ὁπόσα παρ' ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς γίγνεται δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραττόντων.

Πλήθων δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάντα καὶ μηδὲν ὁπότ' ἔτυχεν οἰόμενος γίγνεσθαι συνωδὰ ἑαυτῷ καὶ Πλάτωνα φάναι πειράται δεικνύναι ὡς εἰπόντα ὅτι πᾶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκων εἴη ἀκόλαστος· ἢ γὰρ δι' ἀμαθίαν ἢ δι' 25 ἀκράτειαν ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρα. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὅτι Πλήθων ἢ ἀπάτη παρὰ τοῦ μοναχῶς λαμβάνειν τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πολλαχῶς ὄν. ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ καὶ οὐ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναιτίου, οἷον τὸ ἀναπνεῖν καὶ ἡ τροφή καὶ οὐ ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ τι ἀποβαλεῖν κακόν, οἷον τὸ πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον· καὶ τὸ βίαιον· καὶ τὸ 30 μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἔχειν· καὶ τὸ ὡς ὕλη ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ αἱ τῆς ὕλης κινήσεις. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. εἰ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοδί, ταδί ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν δεῖ. τοσαυταχῶς δὲ λεγομένου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου, Πλάτων τῇ μὲν ὡς τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως φησὶ πάντα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκοντα εἶναι ἀκόλαστον, τῇ δὲ ὡς τὸ βία, μετεिल्φῶς ἐγγύθεν τὰναγκαῖον ἐκ τοῦ βιαίου εἰς τὸ βία διὰ τὸ κρατοῦν τε καὶ ἄγον τοῦ φαύλου ἥθους. βία γὰρ ἐστίν

1-13. ἀκουσίως . . . πρᾶγμα in marg. L et in rasura ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτῶν ἢ βούλησις ἐβελήσῃ πράττειν· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκούσιον τὸ δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἐπίλυπον, ὁ δὲ τὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης ἔσθ' ὅτε σφαλλόμενον. Cf. p. 14, ll. 17-22, n.

3. δέ] γε LV.

5. Post ἐστίν, μὴ γὰρ ἔστω ὁ λόγος δύσερις περὶ ὀνομάτων in marg. L. Cf. p. 15, l. 12. 5-6. μὲν . . . περὶ om. R. 7. τιθέναι R.

8. τοῦ scripsi. Cf. Rep. 864A et p. 13, l. 31, n.

10. σφάλῃται R. 11. χαλεπαίν post τι L. 17. ὄντας ἢ φιλοσόφους] ἢ φιλοσόφους ὄντας E. 18. μὴ δὲ RV.

19. πράξῃ L. 20. γάρ] καὶ RV. ἢ δεῖ R.

23. γίγνεσθαι in marg. V. συνωδα codd. 26. τοῦ] τὸ codd.

ὅποσα παρὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς γίγνεται δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραττόντων, ὡς εἴρηται. βίαιον δὲ οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐξῶθεν ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν συμβάλλεται ὁ πράττων ἢ ὁ πάσχων, οἷον εἰ πνεῦμα κινήσει ποι ἢ ἄνθρωποι κύριοι ὄντες. ὁ γὰρ τοι ἀκόλαστος ἄκων τε καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὡς τὸ βία, καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολασταίνει
 5 ὡς τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. εἰ γὰρ πρᾶξις τοιαύτη καὶ ἕξις ἂν εἴη ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοιαύτη. ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες τῶν φαύλων· οἷον δὴ καὶ σωτὴρ ὁ θεοῦ φησὶν· ὅτι ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ κακὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. φεῦ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὐ πράττεται τὰ κακὰ. καὶ ὅλως ἐπὶ τῶν γιγνομένων καὶ φθειρομένων ὁμοίως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ αἰτία δεῖ, εἰ μέλλει τι
 10 γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ φθεῖρεσθαι. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται τε καὶ φθείρεται ἀπλῶς, ὡς τὸ μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐνδεχομένως. καὶ πολὺ τὸ ὅποτερ' ἔτυχεν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὡς τὸ ὡς ὕλη καὶ αἱ κινήσεις αἱ τῆς ὕλης.

Πλάτων μὲν δὴ οὕτω πάντα ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι ἀκόλαστον λέγων οὔτε
 15 προαίρειν οὔτε τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ὡς μηδὲν μηδαμῇ ἀντιφάσκων αὐτῷ ὅτε μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς φαύλους φησὶν, ὅτε δὲ αἰτίαν εἶναι τοῦ ἐλομένου· θεὸν δ' ἀναίτιον.

Πλήθων δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ὡς τὸ μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἔχειν λαμβάνων οἶεται πάντα ἀπλῶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ
 20 φθεῖρεσθαι. ἀναιρεῖ τε οὐ μόνον προαίρεσιν τε καὶ βούλησιν ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσιν αὐτήν. φύσις γὰρ καὶ ἡ ὕλη. (πότερον δὲ ὡς ὕλη τὸ προαιρετικὸν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον αὐτοπροαίρετόν τε καὶ αὐτεξούσιον ἢ ἕτερον καὶ εἰ ἕτερον πῶς ἕτερον, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος.) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀναιρεῖ. ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἐστὶ, τοῦ γε εἶναι
 25 τίνα μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὴδ' αἰεὶ μὴδ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀλλ' ὅποτερ' ἔτυχεν. συναρροῦνται δὲ καὶ λιταὶ καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἱεροποιία. τί γὰρ δεῖ θεὸν ἴλεων καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ ἀποτροπαῖον καὶ ἀλεξικάκον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, εἰ γε πάντα γίγνεται ἐξ ἀνάγκης;

Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐθ' εἰμαρμένην οὐτ' ἀνάγκην γε ἀναιροῦμεν. τὸ τε
 30 ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον φυλαττόμενον δείκνυμεν. θεὸν τε αὐτὸν γε

1. λογομοῦς R. 4. καὶ prius om. LV. 5. ὡς in marg. V.

7. Cf. Luke XVII, 1: 'Ανευδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν, πληγὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.

8. τὰ κακὰ in marg. L.

14-17. in marg. L. 14. δὴ] γὰρ R. 15. μὴ δαμῶς R. 16. αὐτῷ RV.

21. ἡ om. R. 21-23. πότερον λόγος om. R.

21—p. 18, l. πότερον χριστιανῶ, in marg. L et in rasura οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ βία (?) πως τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ ἄγον, (ἄλλως προὔργου ἂν εἴη τοῖς in marg.) πλέον τι ἐκ τούτου συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνέγκλητα εἶναι τὰ κακουργήματα (ἄλλως μοχθηρὰ in marg.) λέγουσιν. τιμωρητέα γὰρ ὅτι εἰς τοῦτό τις ἐκὼν ἤκει ὥστε ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἀκουσίως πως ραδιουργεῖν. Cf. p. 14, ll. 20-23.

24. τοῦ γε] τὸ codd. 26. δὴ R. σωτῆρα καὶ post θεόν. L.

29. οὐτ'] καὶ codd. γε] τε R.

30. τὸ post καὶ scripsi. φυλάττεσθαι R.

οὐδ' ἡμεῖς φαμέν τρεπτὸν λιταῖς καὶ θυσίαις. δεῖν γε μὴν χρῆσθαι λιτῇ καὶ
 θυσίᾳ καὶ ὅποσα θεοσεβοῦς διανοίας νενόμισται ἔργα πρὸς τινος τροπὴν καὶ
 μεταβολήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ μέλλον. τοῦ γὰρ μέλλοντος εἰς τὸ ἐσόμενον
 ἡ μεταβολὴ τοῖς εὐχομένοις καὶ θύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ πᾶν γίγνεται τὸ
 5 μελλῆσαν, οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸ μέλλον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄληθές
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔσται, δεῖν τοῦτο εἶναι ποτε ἄληθές ὅτι ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει
 δοκεῖ. ὁ δὲ νῦν ἄληθές εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέλλει, οὐδὲν κωλύειν δὴ μὴ γίγνεσθαι.
 ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν ἡ μεταβολή. καὶ Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δηλοῖ λέγων

Στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ

10 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε
 καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς' ἀγανῆσι.
 λοῖβη τε κνίσση τε παρατρωπῶς' ἀνθρωποι.

Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ θεὸς ἀμεταβλήτως περαίνει ταυτό. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν
 εἰμαρμένης τε καὶ ἀνάγκης τῶν γιγνομένων ἀπάντων αἴτιον καὶ σωστικὸν τοῦ
 15 εἶναι. ὥς γὰρ τέτακται ἐξ αἰδίου τῷ θεῷ, οὕτω καὶ γίγνεται πάντα,
 καὶ ὥς πέφυκεν εἶναι τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι οὕτω καὶ ἔστι καὶ γίγνεται.
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἡ εἰμαρμένη, διάταξις καὶ φύσις τοιαύτη τῶν ὄντων αἰδίου, ἐξ
 ὑποθέσεως ἔχουσα τὸ πεπρωμένον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. εἰ γὰρ ἔδει τὰ μὲν
 αἰδία τὰ δὲ φθαρτὰ εἶναι, καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὕτω τετάχθαι ἔδει. καὶ εἴ τι
 20 μέλλει ὁρᾶσθαι, φῶς ὑπάρχειν ἀνάγκῃ. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνέργεια τοῦ
 διαφανοῦς. καὶ εἰ ὁστρακὸν γίγνεσθαι μέλλει, θερμότητα ὑπάρχειν
 ἀνάγκῃ ἐξικμάζουσιν τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκ τοῦ γεώδους' καὶ εἰ τοδί, ταδί.
 λανθάνει δὲ δι' ἀγνοίαν τοῦ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀναγκαίου.

Ἄιτια μὲν οὖν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἄλλα ἄλλοις. κοινὸν δ' ἅπασιν τοῦ
 25 εἶναι καὶ γίγνεσθαι οὕτω τὸ τετάχθαι τε καὶ εἰμῶρθαι οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πρώτου. τῶν τεταγμένων δ' ἄρα καὶ εἰμαρμένων καὶ τὸ ὅσια μὲν πρᾶτ-
 τοντας σώζεσθαι, ἀνόσια δὲ ἀπόλλυσθαι. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν
 ἄλλοις.

Καλῶς δὲ καὶ Βησσαρίωνι τῷ ἱεράρχῃ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος λόγους
 30 περὶ εἰμαρμένης λέγοντι ἅμα τὸ τε ἐκούσιον καὶ τὸ εἰμαρμένον φυλάττεται,
 διώρισταί τε ὅλως αὐτῷ περὶ εἰμαρμένης ἱκανῶς ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ

2-3. πρὸς μεταβολὴν τινος καὶ τροπὴν R. 5. μελλῆσαν R. ἄληθές om. LV.

7. κολύειν L. γενέσθαι RV. πόλλα post γίγνεσθαι L. 8. ταύτῃ] ταύτην R.

11. εὐχολῆς' codd. 13. ἀμεταβλήτως] corr. ex ἀμεταπτῶτως L. ἀμετα-
 βολήτως R. εὐθηθεια (sc. εὐθειᾶ) πορευόμενος, ἡ (sc. ἡ) φησι Πλάτων post
 ταυτό R. 14. σωστικόν] corr. ex διαφυλακτικόν L. φυλακτικόν R. τοῦ scripsi.

17. ἡ om. R. 18. πεπρωμένον καὶ om. R. πεπρόμενον LV.

19. τοῦτο R. 19-21. καὶ εἰ . . . διαφανοῦς om. LV.

25. εἰμᾶρθαι codd. 27-28. περὶ τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις in marg. V. τούτου R.

29. καλῶς] εὖ R.

30. ἅμα post φυλάττεται R.

31. ὥριστα R. ὅλως αὐτῷ om. R.

- ἡ προσῆκε χριστιανῶ φιλοσόφῳ. οὐκ εὖ δὲ Πλήθων οὐδὲ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῷ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ διηρῆσθαι Πλάτωνι εἰς τὸ ἀπλῶς ἀναγκαῖον ἀνάγει. οὐ γὰρ εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτῃ διαιρεῖν ἀξιοῖ Πλάτων διὰ τοῦτο δὴ ἀπλῶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄφικτα φησὶν εἶναι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
 5 τοιούτου γε ἀναγκαίου ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος ἐτέρως διαιρεῖ, καὶ οὕτως ὡς μήτε τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἀναιρεῖν τό τε καινότερον αὐτῷ ἀνύειν τῆς διαιρέσεως. φανερῶς γὰρ ταύτῃ διαφέρειν φησὶν, ἡ ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἀεὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξης σφαλλόμενος πράττει, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος σπανίως καὶ μικρὰ ἅττα, καὶ ταύτην δὴ δοξάζεσθαι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον εἶναι ἀδικίαν.
 10 τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ διαιρούμενα Πλάτωνι τῷ σφαλερῷ καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρῳ διήρηται, ἀνάγκη τε λόγου οὐδεμία ἐνθένδε τῶν ὄντων πάντων καὶ γιγνομένων τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἀποβάλλειν.
- Διαπορεῖν μὲν τοίνυν περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν λόγων καλὸν διαφορῶν δὲ πλῆθος τιθῆναι ἀσυμβάτων ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Πλάτωνος λόγοις,
 15 κατασχίζειν τε τῷ ἄνδρῳ, καὶ τοῖς περὶ ὁποτερονοῦν συστάσι ἐρίξειν τε καὶ φιλονεικεῖν, οὐ καλόν, ἀλλὰ συμβιβάζειν ὅτι περ ἂν διενηνοχῆναι δοκῶσιν ἄμεινον, καὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἐνὶ ἐπομένους ἡγεμόνι παιδείας τε καὶ σοφίας ἀρίστῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐμμελῶς· ἄμφω γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρῳ σοφῷ καὶ αἰδοῦς ἀξίω.

Τέλος

1. φιλοσόφῳ post ἡ R. ἀπλᾶ γε δόξη φιλοσόφῳ προσῆκε χριστιανῶ in marg. L. R. add. post φιλοσόφῳ, p. 16, ll. 21-23 (πότερον . . . λόγος) verbatim nisi ἄλλου λόγου pro ἄλλος λόγος.

2. διηρῆσθαι R. 4. καὶ post δὴ codd. ἄφνατε R.

7. διαιρέσεως] διαλέξεως LV.

8. σφαλλόμενος R. 9. δεῖ R. 10. δέ] δὴ V.

10. καὶ ἀκουσίῳ in marg. R; om. LV. 11. διήρηται codd. λόγων R.

14. ἀσύμβατον codd.

15, 18 τῷ τε R. 15. συστάντας codd. 19. τέλος om. LV.

THE VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY

BY

THEODORE GAZA

One would naturally undertake an inquiry into the voluntary and involuntary by considering the individual persons and circumstances concerned in moral activity,¹ since the end of moral activity is either the good or the apparent good; this end might also, of course, be called the desirable, for desire has always as its object what really is good or what (merely) appears so.

Now it would seem strange that, if one desired a good thing and performed a good deed, one should be said to act and desire involuntarily.² On the other hand, it would seem strange that a person should voluntarily do wrong, thereby being content to bring infamy on himself and, just as if he were his own enemy, to lay up for himself such evils as are calculated to ruin him, in spite of the fact that man naturally aims at self-preservation and is formed to follow his own interests to the utmost of his ability.³ But it would appear still stranger that any one should involuntarily do wrong when the initiative⁴ for the action lay with him and when he was aware of the particular details of his action, such as the person affected by the act, the act itself, its occasion, its instrument, its purpose, and its manner. It still is thought strange that punishment should be inflicted both for involuntary deeds and for voluntary ones. For, if any one does wrong involuntarily, he deserves pardon and, if he does so voluntarily aiming at a good, surely it is not just that he who pursues a good should be punished. But it would seem much stranger that one should be punished for deeds done under compulsion,⁵ since the doer or the victim of the

1. Cf. *Ethics*, 1110b33.

2. Cf. *Ethics*, 1111a29.

3. This difficulty is based on the Socratic paradox that no one sins voluntarily. Cf. Pletho's letter to Bessarion in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLXI, 721 A, B.

4. Action the initiative for which lies with the actor (*Ethics*, 1110 a 17) and the details of which are known to him (*ibid.*, 1111a2) is voluntary, according to Aristotle's definition adopted by Gaza (20, 22, n.). This sentence is, therefore, reducible to the form, "How can a voluntary act be an involuntary act?"

5. Gaza has in mind the fact that Plato says all misdeeds are involuntary and yet prescribes penalties for them (*Laws*, 860 E, 861 A). One division of involuntary deeds consists of those done under compulsion, according to Aristotle (*Ethics*, 1109b35).

compulsion contributes nothing toward the initiation of the deeds so done.¹

Nevertheless these things occur and it is said that a man, though desiring a thing, still acts involuntarily. Those, for example, who jettison cargo from their storm-tossed ships as their only means of preservation are said to do so involuntarily.²

Plato, a man distinguished for wisdom, says that no one does wrong voluntarily, but that all who transgress do so involuntarily; and those who transgress through anger and desire do so under compulsion.³ But Aristotle, a friend of Plato's and no less reputed for wisdom, thinks that every single evil-doer does wrong voluntarily. Therefore we must now inquire besides how it is that these two men, who are both wise, differ with each other completely on the same subject. For those who are alike should also think and speak alike.⁴ Indeed for my part I could not agree to adopt the arbitrary attitude⁵ of praising one of these two men and not the other. We ought rather to do our best, by means of logical distinctions and definitions, to settle the questions raised by Plato and Aristotle and, by an examination of the real meaning of each, to reconcile the two men where they seem to differ, instead of indulging in a wordy and vainly contentious debate.

We call every act voluntary⁶ which, being in the power of the actor to do or not, he performs with knowledge and without ignorance of the person affected, the instrument, or the relations of the act and which he performs, too, neither accidentally nor under compulsion. We call involuntary every act initiated by the actor, but done in ignorance of the particular details of the action and followed by remorse and repentance; that too we call involuntary which is compulsory and done under compulsion. But all that is done *through* ignorance (of external facts) is non-voluntary, whereas (only) that which is followed by repentance and remorse is involuntary. The latter would be pardonable. But let a distinction⁷ be drawn between acting *through* ignorance and acting *in* ignorance (of principles) and let those acts be considered pardonable which are done not *in* ignorance but *through* ignorance and are the occasion for subsequent repentance; but

1. Aristotle's definition of a deed under compulsion (*Ethics*, 1110a2, b2).

2. Cf. *Ethics*, 1110a8 ff.

3. Cf. *Laws*, 863B.

4. This conviction determines Gaza's whole treatment of the subject.

5. E.g., the attitude of Pletho and of Gennadius.

6. With this paragraph the argument of the tract begins. In it Gaza assumes the Aristotelian definitions of the voluntary and involuntary. Cf. *Ethics*, 1135a23, 1111a22, 1113b24, 1110b18, 1109b35.

7. Cf. *Ethics*, 1110b24.

those should not be considered pardonable which are done not *through* ignorance but *in* ignorance, provided they are not done under stress of suffering that exceeds the limit of nature and human endurance.

5 Let these premises be laid down as I have indicated. By reference to them we must resolve the opposing arguments and prove that the opinions of Plato and Aristotle are in no way contradictory to each other.

The unqualified statement that any one acts with a desire but
10 involuntarily is not true, but in a certain qualified sense it is true.¹ For it is possible that those making jettison of their cargo in the midst of storms act involuntarily in an absolute sense, since no one would make an unmotivated choice of throwing away his property; but, in a certain sense, they act voluntarily, inasmuch
15 as they expect in this way to get clear of the dangers in which they have become involved. This point is borne out by the words of Homer:

“Voluntarily yet with reluctant mind.”²

There is nothing strange then in the fact that an action should be
20 voluntary in a certain sense but, in an absolute sense, involuntary. But, if an action is involuntary in the way described, it is right to say that one does wrong voluntarily; for every action was assumed to be voluntary of which the initiative was with the actor who knew the individual persons and circumstances concerned in his action,
25 provided that the action was done neither accidentally nor under compulsion. This condition is present in the case of every evil-doer.

There is nothing strange about this³ because the evil-doer does not aim at the evil as evil and as inimical and ruinous to himself but as good and salutary; he desires it, believing that it is either
30 advantageous or pleasurable. But the good is of two kinds—real and apparent—and desire has both as its objects; the good man's desire is for the real good and the bad man's for the apparent good. It is just that such men should be punished, not because they aim at a good but because they aim at what is not good on the assumption
35 that it is. Such is the nature of badness.⁴ Hence it turns

1. These lines are an elaboration of *Ethics*, 1110a18 and a9.

2. *Iliad*, IV, 43.

3. That is, that one does wrong voluntarily (21, 21). The previous paragraph had explained the paradox (19,15) of involuntary wrong-doing by arguing that it was also voluntary. This leads the author to a second paradox (19, 9), that of voluntary wrong-doing. He proceeds to explain it along with the cognate paradox (19,22) regarding the punishment of those aiming at a good.

4. The obvious translation of the original “Such a thing is bad” is plainly precluded by the context. Gaza frequently omits the article with neuter adjectives used in the sense of abstract nouns, e.g., in the title of the tract.

out that in aiming at a good a man aims at an evil. At least an aim directed toward evil arises in no one except in this unintentional way; for one may hear even Aristotle say that every activity and moral choice aims at some good.¹

5 Nevertheless, the one who so proves to have desired evil is not free from vice, since it is by his rational faculty that he desires the evil. He is evil himself and he likewise does evil without qualification and absolutely and by the very fact that he desires it; and he does wickedly by actually desiring what is actually
10 evil as though it were good.

For the person who does wrong involuntarily there is pardon on the ground that he repents, since the person who does wrong *through* ignorance and later repents deserves pardon, whereas the person who does not repent does not deserve it. This last case is
15 near that of the man who does wrong *in* ignorance and voluntarily.² Let each be called the one who sins *as though in* ignorance. Being akin, they might reasonably share the distinctive name, so that the one who has sinned *through* ignorance and without repentance is said to have sinned voluntarily in a sense and *in* ignorance,
20 and, again, the one who sins *in* ignorance voluntarily is said to sin *through* ignorance and non-voluntarily and involuntarily.

Aristotle also agrees with this view in saying that not only deeds of violence, but also those involving deception are involuntary relationships,³ such as theft, adultery, poisoning, procuring, kid-
25 napping, assassination, perjury. These are involuntary, since they would be non-voluntary, as the one who suffers them does no wrong and they are not the sort of violent deeds by which the involuntary

1. Cf. *Ethics*, 1094a1.

2. *I.e.*, in ignorance of moral principles or his real interests (*Ethics*, 1110b30). Gaza's operation here consists in fusing two types into one, of which either voluntary or involuntary might be predicated indifferently. The advantage is relative to his purpose. Deeds coming under this fused type may be spoken of in one way by Plato and in the opposite way by Aristotle and yet both ways of speaking may be correct.

3. This argument can scarcely be described as less than a monstrous sophism. Aristotle states (*Ethics*, 1131a1 ff.) that theft, etc., are involuntary relationships, but he does not mean, nor does Gaza suppose him to mean, that the thief acts involuntarily, although the whole discussion has been regarding actions. In other words, Gaza ignores the difference between an action and a passive experience merely in order to make Aristotle seem to use the same language of moral acts that Plato uses of them. The irrational character of the argument is especially apparent in II. 20-21, where the acts under discussion are said to be involuntary because non-voluntary and non-voluntary because not involuntary; which implies that they are involuntary because not involuntary. If this is really Gaza's meaning, he could scarcely have carried futility further.

has been defined. So the evil man does evil voluntarily, because he acts knowing the details which form the field of his action, but involuntarily, because no one is voluntarily evil, as Plato says, and because a person does not wish what he does not think is good, as Aristotle says in agreement with Plato. Therefore a person wishes evil non-voluntarily, and, after deliberation and choice, he aims according to his wish.¹ This is moral choice. The individual persons and circumstances concerned in moral activity are the objects of deliberation and moral choice. Therefore the wicked man acts non-voluntarily. But one who acts non-voluntarily acts also, as it turns out, involuntarily. It is for this reason² that Plato applies the term involuntary to an evil deed (in general), while Aristotle by a change in usage applies it (merely) to a deed involving deception.

Furthermore, even if Aristotle does not wish to apply the term involuntary in case one is ignorant of his true interest instead of the particular details of his action, the word cannot be entirely debarred from application to one ignorant of his own true interest³ since no one is voluntarily ignorant of his interest. Therefore he acts non-voluntarily and receives the name involuntary, used in the same sense as when we say that fraudulent relationships are involuntary.⁴

There are, therefore, three types of those who sin involuntarily: he who does wrong *through* ignorance, he who does so *as though* ignorant, and he who does so *in* ignorance. Of them Plato⁵ says that the one who sins *through* ignorance is involved in a simple ignorance, but he who does so *in* ignorance is involved in a double ignorance.⁶ But the one who sins *as though* ignorant neither knows

1. Cf. *Ethics*, 1113a11. 2. Cf. 23, 3.

3. That this case comes within the scope of involuntary acts would seem to have been already argued (22, 14-21). Gaza probably reverted to it in order to treat of it in a more decisive manner.

4. The looseness of Gaza's thought is well shown by the fact that he here ignores his earlier inclusion of the type "*through* ignorance" in the composite type "*as though* ignorant." Cf. 22, 14-16. 5. Cf. *Laws*, 863C.

6. Plato means that the man is ignorant and is also ignorant of the fact that he is so. Gaza ignores this obviously correct interpretation and implies that Plato had in mind a classification made first by Aristotle. The third type, those who do wrong *as though* ignorant, is due to Gaza's own classification and he still tries to find a place for it in Plato's scheme by giving it a new name based on Plato's nomenclature. Why this third type should be so named admits naturally of no intelligible explanation. "Logical division" is here used not to clarify the subject, but to reconcile Plato's and Aristotle's words. Unfortunately, the reconciliation does not take into account the difference between Plato's metaphysical and Aristotle's semi-legal purposes in the treatments of the matter.

nor is ignorant. His action is not voluntary either, because he has done what he did not know. Let him be involved *as though* in a double ignorance. The one who sins *through* ignorance should be pardoned, but the one who does so *as though* ignorant and the one who does so *in* ignorance should not be pardoned.

Compulsion also is of two kinds, outer and inner.¹ For both the one who acts contrary to desire and reason² is said to act under compulsion and the one violently carried off by a whirlwind is carried off by compulsion. Those who do wrong under outer compulsion no one blames, but every sensible person censures those who yield to the inner compulsion. The incontinent man acts under compulsion because contrary to reason;³ but not without incurring blame, since the initiative for his action is in his own power and he has not become incontinent of necessity.⁴ Would the man then who, through vice, is mastered by wrath and anger do evil under compulsion, as Plato says? He would—if among this class of people, too, action takes place contrary to reason. And it does seem that the wicked are not wholly without calculation and knowledge of things noble.⁵ For taking the case of the three states to be avoided in the sphere of ethics—vice, incontinence, and amorality⁶—in regard to all vice and incontinence one must consider that this is so in some sense, if there be not an excessive bias of the character in the direction of amorality. In this way each person might be said to do wrong involuntarily on the ground that he is led on more readily to the deed by his emotion. Hence we see that Plato did not do badly to say that those wicked people who erred through anger and pleasure acted involuntarily, since what is done under compulsion is done, as we agreed, involuntarily.

But there is no validity in the plea of those who, in excuse or in defence of themselves, allege compulsion, meaning this compulsion that controls and leads in the souls of the wicked. Punishment ought to be inflicted because one would voluntarily have come to the state of being led by his emotion and of doing wrong under compulsion.

It is plain then that here also Plato and Aristotle have not differed, in speaking as they did regarding the voluntary and involuntary. The one says that evil men are so voluntarily, while the other says that they act involuntarily either on the ground that they act non-voluntarily or on the ground that they act under

1. Cf. 20, 9; also *Ethics*, 1111a24 ff.

2. For this alliance of desire with reason, cf. *Pletho's Criticism*, 63, n. 134.

3. Cf. *Meta.*, 1015a32.

4. Cf. *Ethics*, 1114a19, 20.

5. Cf. *Ethics*, 1145b12 ff.

6. Cf. *Ethics*, 1145a15.

- compulsion and mastered by their emotion. For Plato¹ himself also says that the evil act voluntarily, though admittedly in a secondary sense, putting the matter as follows: "We say that pleasure in exercise of its tyrannical power does whatever its will determines." Will and determination are for him characteristic not of involuntary, but of voluntary action. So he thinks that, in one sense, such men act voluntarily and, in another, involuntarily, and he lays down laws concerning involuntary wrongs as though he supposed that some did wrong voluntarily.
- 10 Aristotle calls involuntary the deed done through ignorance and with subsequent repentance, while Plato uses this term of an action that sometimes misses one's conception of the best. Although² the latter, to be sure, says that the concept of the best, controlling and bringing order into the soul, is thought by the many to cause, 15 when it is mistaken, an involuntary wrong, yet he does not oppose this opinion strongly but, deprecating the argument about terms as contentious and by no means accepting it, he employs the same term as Aristotle does, on the assumption that the act he describes does not differ in any way from that referred to by Aristotle.
- 20 Therefore, if Plato regards as involuntary the state of those who are ruled and led by their emotion and who are less without calculation of the noble and of virtue than the amoral but more so that the incontinent,³ this view, involving a difference of words rather than thought, is calculated to perplex those who are phil- 25 Aristotelians rather than philosophers. For Aristotle too speaks with this same meaning when he adds "and not under compulsion" in his definition of the voluntary.⁴ For no one will ever do evil voluntarily, especially if it is evil as such,⁵ but he might do it under compulsion; for the things done under compulsion are—as 30 he also agrees—those done directly by the actors and contrary to desire and reason.

Now Pletho, holding that all things happen of necessity and nothing happens by chance, tries to maintain that Plato's words are in agreement with his position, on the ground that Plato said

1. Cf. *Laws*, 863 B.

2. To say that an opinion is held by the many is enough to discredit it. Hence the "although." Cf. *Laws*, 864 A, B.

3. Cf. 24, 14-25. This circumlocution to describe the wicked is based on Aristotle's words, the meaning of which has just been asserted to be identical with those of Plato quoted in the preceding sentence. These words appear on the surface to contradict Aristotle's statements regarding the voluntary nature of wickedness and so perplex those who unduly revere Aristotle.

4. Cf. 20, 25-26.

5. Cf. 21, 27-30.

that every wicked person was so of necessity and involuntarily,¹ since he was so either through ignorance or incontinence, or both. It has already been stated in other works² that the source of Pletho's error was the fact that he took the term necessity in one sense only,³ whereas it was really used in many. Necessity is of several kinds:⁴ that without which, as a contributory cause, it is impossible to live, e.g., breathing and food; that without which it is impossible for a good to exist or accrue or an evil to be averted, e.g., taking medicine; the compulsory; that which can not be otherwise; that which is as
 10 matter in nature and as the motions of matter;⁴ here then is also hypothetical necessity, e.g., if this is a man, these (human qualities) must be present in him. Such are the meanings of necessity. Plato says that the wicked man is so involuntarily, alike of the hypothetical necessity and of (inner) compulsion,⁵ thereby slightly
 15 shifting the meaning of necessity from the compulsory to that done under compulsion due to the controlling and leading element of one's evil character. For things done under compulsion are those done contrary to reason directly by the actors, while compulsory acts are acts of which the initiation comes from without and to
 20 which the actor contributes nothing, as, for example, if a whirlwind or men with the power requisite will carry one off.⁶ The incontinent man is incontinent both involuntarily and by necessity in the sense of being under compulsion, and he acts incontinently from necessity of the hypothetical type. For, if one's action is
 25 necessary, so is one's moral character. The like holds of the unjust and all other kinds of wrong-doers. In keeping with this principle is the statement of the Saviour, the Son of God, that evil deeds occur among men of necessity but woe to the man by whom they are done.⁷

1. Probably based on a passage from Pletho's letter to Bessarion, printed in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLXI, 721 A, B: "Plato gave his real opinion . . . in the numerous passages where he repeats to the point of weariness that the bad are bad against their will and hence by some necessity."

2. Cf. p. 6. The reference is apparently to some other work or works by Gaza. If so, it must either be a part of his *De Consultatione Naturae* not included in Bessarion's synopsis (*Pletho's Criticism*, 11) or it must be another philosophical tract which is not known. In either case, we may conclude that the *De Fato* was not Gaza's first tract against Pletho.

3. This discussion of necessity is based directly on *Metaphysics*, 1015a20 ff.

4. This "necessity" is not found in the passage from Aristotle but is introduced to be the basis for contingent necessity, which allows for chance. It appears both here and in the examples to be illogically identified with hypothetical, or conditional, necessity. Cf. 28, 23.

5. Cf. 24, 6. 6. Cf. *Ethics*, 1110a3. 7. Cf. 16, 7, note.

In general, a like principle applies to the world of changing phenomena. The causes must be of necessity, if it is intended (or likely) that anything should arise and pass away. And yet it does not arise and pass away of necessity in an absolute sense, as
 5 in the sphere of things that have no variability, but as in those which do have a degree of variability.¹ There is much in nature that happens whichever of two ways chance determines² and of necessity in the sense of that in matter and the motions of matter.

Plato, saying that every evil person is so of necessity in this
 10 sense, denies neither moral choice nor contingency in nature, and in no way contradicts himself when he says, at one time, that the wicked sin of necessity and, at another, that the blame belongs to the chooser; God is blameless.³

But Pletho, taking necessity in nature to mean what can not
 15 be otherwise,⁴ thinks that all things arise and pass away by an absolute necessity; and thereby he denies not only moral choice and wish but also nature. For matter too is nature.⁵ (But whether what admits of choice and the so-called self-chosen and self-subsistent is analogous to matter or is different and, if different,
 20 how it is different, would be another question.) Yet he also leaves no room for accident, since accident is the beginning and cause of existence,⁶ that is, the existence of things not by necessity nor always nor in general but as one of two possible results. Prayers too are at the same time ruled out and supplications and every
 25 kind of divine worship; for why should God be called merciful and saviour and protector and averter of evil if all things happen of necessity?

We, however, deny neither fate nor necessity and, in our demonstration, safeguard both contingency and the voluntary.
 30 And we do not say any more than Pletho that God can be changed

1. Cf. *Anal. Pr.*, 32b4.

2. Cf. *De Interpr.*, 18b.

3. Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 718 A; *Pletho's Criticism*, 62; and *Republic*, 617 E.

4. Cf. Pletho's letter to Bessarion, Migne, *ibid.*, 722 D. Pletho allows for only one meaning besides the ordinary one, viz., compulsion.

5. Contingent necessity was described by Gaza as the necessity which is as matter (ὡς ὕλη Cf. 15, 30). This is τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, the necessity operating in nature. It enters into the essence of matter and so of nature. But whether this species of necessity is the same as that which admits of freedom of choice in the individual is another question. Gaza thus by precept, at any rate, separated the question of chance from that of free will. This is a distinct merit, since there was throughout this debate a tendency to confuse the two issues.

6. Cf. *Meta.*, 1026b29.

by prayers and sacrifices.¹ Yet one ought to use prayer and sacrifices and all the customary works of a pious mind with a view to the moving and the changing of something, namely, of what is likely, or intended by God. For the change of what is intended
 5 to what will be is accomplished in answer to prayers and sacrifices. Not everything that is intended actually occurs and what will be is not identical with what is intended or likely. For Aristotle too holds that, regarding that of which it is right to say that it will be, it must some time be right to say that it is. But there is nothing
 10 to prevent that of which it is right to say that it is intended or likely from never happening at all.² In this way, then, the change finds room. Homer bears witness to this truth in the words:

“And even the gods too may be swayed, though their glory is greater, both their honour and their might; by sacrifices
 15 and gentle vows, by libations and burnt offerings, men turn them aside.”³

But God himself brings the actual event to pass without change. This is the cause of fate and of the necessity in changing phenomena⁴ and preserves their existence. For, as things have been ordained
 20 by God from eternity, so they all come into being and, as it is their nature to be and become, so they both are and do become. Such an arrangement and constitution of things that are, is eternal, having its fixed character and necessity dependent on a condition.⁵ For if it was necessary that these things should be eternal and
 25 those perishable, they have been so ordained of necessity; and if it is intended (or likely) that a thing be seen, it is necessary that there be light, since light is the actuality of the visible;⁶ and if it is intended (or likely) that a pot should come into existence, it is necessary that there be heat evaporating the moisture from the
 30 clay, and, if this is so, these results follow.⁷ Pletho does not see this on account of his ignorance of conditional necessity.

1. Gaza may have thought it desirable to hold that God was unchangeable either to avoid Pletho's dilemma (p. 7) or in consideration of *James*, I, 17.

2. Cf. *Gen. et Cor.*, 337b4.

3. *Il.* IX, 497-500. Plato (*Repub.*, 364 D, E) quoted freely the same passage, but in order to differ with it. Pletho referred with approbation to Plato's quotation in a tract Gaza may have seen (Migne, *ibid.*, CLX, 856 B).

4. *I.e.*, without change of his intention or eternal purpose which, however, has been modified in a particular case in answer to prayer.

5. Conditional necessity is the necessity of a thing happening in one of two ways. Gaza appears, wrongly, to have limited the application of it to matter and its motions (26, 10). Either this necessity or one of the two possible issues (Gaza leaves it uncertain) is God's intention (τὸ μέλλον) (28, 3f.). Cf. pp. 8-9.

6. Cf. *De Anima*, 418b4 and b9.

7. Cf. *De Anim. Gen.*, 718b18.

There are different causes for different individual things, but a common cause of the existence and genesis of all things, namely, their being so ordained and fated by the first cause. One of the things ordained and fated is that those who do righteously shall be saved and those who do wickedly shall perish. This matter also
 5 has been dealt with in other works.

Bessarion the Cardinal, in his treatise in defence of Plato regarding fate, does well to admit, at the same time, the existence of the voluntary and of fate; and in general he has defined the
 10 question of fate adequately to his purpose and as became a Christian philosopher. But Pletho does ill to interpret Plato's failure to classify sins into voluntary and involuntary as a proof of his belief in absolute necessity. For even if Plato does not see fit to classify them in this way, he does not thereby say that sins are unavoidable
 15 by an absolute necessity, but, in a discussion removed as far as possible from such necessity, he classifies sins on a different principle and in such a way as to avoid denying contingency and to make effective the newer element in his own classification. For he plainly says that the bad man differs from the good by the fact
 20 that the bad man acts always missing the true concept of the best, but the good man rarely and in small matters, and that this latter kind of action is thought by many to be involuntary wrongdoing.¹ But the misdeeds classified by others as voluntary and involuntary have been classified by Plato as those which miss and those which
 25 hit the mark. No logical necessity arises from this statement for rejecting contingency in all the phenomena of existence and change.

To examine, therefore, into such arguments is a worthy task, but to assume a multitude of irreconcilable differences in the words of Aristotle and Plato, to make a division between the two
 30 men, and to dispute and quarrel with the partisans of either is anything but a worthy proceeding.² On the contrary, it is better to reconcile them in whatever respect they seem to have differed and, following both as though one most excellent leader in knowledge and wisdom, to elucidate the truth in harmony with both;
 35 since both the men are wise and worthy of reverence.

1. Cf. 25, 11.

2. Cf. 20, 15.

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A STUDY OF JOB XXXII-XXXVII

BY

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THE SPEECHES OF ELIHU

PREFACE

For sake of convenience I have divided this dissertation into three parts. Part I is taken up with a general discussion of the problems involved. Part II is a translation of the revised text. Part III includes a revised Hebrew text, with philological and literary notes pertaining to it.

I wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the members of the staff of the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of Toronto, and also to Dr. Albright of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, for their many helpful suggestions. I am, however, especially indebted to Dean McLaughlin of Victoria College, whose unfailing sympathy has made my years of study under him a great privilege.

W. E. STAPLES

Toronto, June, 1924.

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ERRATA

Page 5, line 5. For "The Elihu Speeches 38-40:14;" read
"the Elihu Speeches 32-37; the Jahweh Speeches 38-40:14;"

Page 15, line 16. For "Part III" read "Part II."

Page 27. Delete "Part III"; and insert "Part III" at
head of page 38.

Page 36, verse 12b. For "higher" read "hither."

Page 42, line 9. For "as" read "is."



THE SPEECHES OF ELIHU

PART I

The Book of Job comes to us from the hand of its author, or authors, in distinct and readily recognized parts: the prologue, chapters 1-2; the dialogue, chapters 3-31, with the exception of chapter 28, the relation of which to the rest of the book is problematical; the Elihu speeches, 38-40: 14; 42: 1-6; the Behemoth and Leviathan poems, 40: 15-41; and the Epilogue, 42: 7-17.

Whether or not all, or most, of these parts were included in the original book has been much debated. It is now all but universally acknowledged that the Leviathan poem is an addition. The descriptive passages in chapters 38 and 39 are short and brilliant, while those in the Leviathan poem are long and heavy. The multiplicity of questions, so noticeable in the Jahweh speeches, is lacking, and the whole impression made upon the reader is quite different.

Dr. Driver¹ considers that the chief aim of the book is negative. The author's aim, he thinks, was to controvert the dominant theory that all suffering is derived from antecedent sin. A secondary purpose, which was positive, is found in the prologue, to show that affliction is sent upon the righteous to test their integrity.

Cornill² seems to take the prologue and the epilogue merely as a setting for the drama, and looks for a solution of the problem in the dialogue. Since no satisfactory solution is found in chapters 3-31, and since Job wished for a meeting with Jahweh, the poet gave him the opportunity, but not as Job wished. It would have been below the dignity of Jahweh to enter into a direct parley with mere

¹S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Scribner, New York, 1914), p. 409.

²C. H. Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, translated by G. H. Box, (Williams & Norgate, London, 1907), p. 425

man. To Cornill, therefore, Jahweh's addition to the argument is simply a statement of the exaltation of God above man, and of the profound wisdom of God in comparison to the ignorance of man. He thinks that the Elihu Speeches represent the author's own solution of the problem, and were interpolated before the Jahweh Speeches, out of deference to Jahweh, by the author himself.

Gray¹ thinks that the author had no real solution to the problem but that contained in the Jahweh speeches. The chief purpose of the book was to vindicate Job, and condemn the friends, which is done in the dialogue. Peake² believes the story of Job to be something of an autobiography. The author had found no solution of the question at hand, but, in humble submission to God's inscrutable wisdom, and in a profounder sense of fellowship with Him, he had escaped into the region of unclouded trust.

Duhm³ takes it as a controversy against the time-honoured belief that God rewards the good and punishes the evil.

My own opinion is that the author had at hand an old folk-tale dealing with the problem of suffering. The scene of the tale was set alternately in Earth and Heaven. The question of man's sincerity toward God was raised, and the Satan set himself to prove that man served Jahweh only for the material gains involved. The first test was a failure, due, according to the Satan, to the fact that man might suffer from the loss of material wealth without losing faith, but that he would surely revile God if his own person were touched. The second test was therefore applied, and Job came through his afflictions triumphant. "Shall we receive good from God, and shall we not receive evil?" The Satan had been proved wrong, Job was still a righteous man, and Jahweh reimbursed him for his afflictions.

¹S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job* (*International Critical Commentary*), (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1921), p. 32.

²A. S. Peake, *Century Bible*, "Job", (T. C. & E. C. Jack, Edinburgh, 1905), Introduction.

³B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, erklärt in Marti's Kurzer Handcommentar zum A. T., 1897.

Some discussion has arisen concerning the authenticity of the epilogue, especially verses 10-17. The main part of the story, however, reads as a unit. The chief difficulty lies in the differences implied in verses 42: 10 and 13. In verse 10 Job receives double for his losses, and in verse 13 we are told that he received only seven sons and three daughters, the same number as in the beginning. The question arises, why not fourteen sons and six daughters? One explanation is that the author believed in a life after death, and hence his first seven were not really lost, so that in receiving ten more, he had really received double. This would necessitate a very late date of writing. The style, however, and the vocabulary do not substantiate this. It must rather be supposed that the author differentiated between children and cattle, that he held the children to be such a personal and individual acquisition that their loss could not be made good by the mere doubling of their numbers. Numbers of cattle and acres may count, but not so one's own family. The author, here, shows a very fine distinction.

Certain idioms appearing in both the prologue and the epilogue seem to substantiate a unity of authorship.

WORD	MEANING	EPILOGUE	PROLOGUE
ב	against	42: 7, 7	2: 3
בעד	on behalf of	42: 8, 10	2: 4, 4
כל אשר לו	all that he hath	42: 10	1: 10, 11, 12, 12, 4
לקח לו	take to himself	42: 8	2: 8
נתן לו	attribute or give	42: 11, 15	1: 22
אכל עם	eat with	42: 11	1: 4

This story gave the author his *dramatis personae*, his plot, and the solution of the problem. It has been repeatedly stated that the author must have had some solution for the problem before he wrote, or he would not have written. The remainder of the book does not give the solution. Here then is the place to look for it. He looked upon suffering as a testing of fidelity to God. And the purpose of the exposition was to encourage the people who, although they believed

themselves to be righteous, were afflicted, while the heathen people about them were in prosperity.

Such ideas as that of the prologue were not uncommon among the wise men of Israel in exilic and post-exilic times. Certain Psalms were written to explain this apparent breach of the law of retribution. In Psalm 73 God makes trial of the righteous by showing them the prosperity of the wicked? But faith is triumphant. Psalms 37 and 49 hint also at this idea.

The same tendency of thought is found in Psalms 105-107. The history of the nation is reviewed. Jahweh repeatedly puts temptations in the way of the people to test them; sometimes they are triumphant, but more often they fail. Of these, Psalm 105 is the most explicit. A famine was sent upon the early fathers as a test of their fidelity. Joseph was severely tried, and proved true. The net result of the trial was of lasting benefit to the race. A similar idea is present in Deutero-Isaiah. The author looks upon the people who retain their faith through all the trials as the nucleus of a community which was to save the entire world.

These few instances show that there was a theory in existence among the people, at the time of the exile and after, which explained suffering as a means by which Jahweh tested the people. The purpose of the book of Job must have been the same as that of these Psalms. Hence we conclude that the author's aim was to encourage his afflicted brothers, by showing them that the trials they were undergoing were due, not so much to their short-comings, as to Jahweh, who would recompense them many times over if they proved true to the test.

In the dialogue we have the process of testing in progress. We have a grievously afflicted man, fully conscious of his own integrity, goaded to desperation by men who posed as his friends. There could be no trial more acute to a man's mind than that pictured in the dialogue. These four men, of course, are assumed to know nothing of the prologue, and three of them have mustered up the theological lore of the ages and hurled it at the fourth to prove his great guilt.

Through it all Job persists in his questioning, seeking for a true solution, but in vain. In chapters 14 and 19, he expresses longing hopes (not convictions) that in some way God will reveal to him, even after death (for he had given up hope of recovery), his vindication, that if only for a brief moment he will be fully conscious that God recognizes his fidelity to Him.

From chapter 25 to chapter 28 there is great confusion in the text, but in this section the dialogue ends, and the friends are put to silence. Chapters 29-31 reveal Job triumphant. He reviews the progress of his life, first mentioning his past prosperity and his philanthropy. He then describes his present affliction. "Chapter 31," says Driver, "contains the portrait of a character, instinct with nobility, and delicacy of feeling, which not only repudiates any overt act of violence, or wrongdoing, but also disowns all secret impulses of impure or dishonourable conduct."

The testing is completed. Why continue the story further? Only the reward for good behaviour is required. This we have in the epilogue, the last chapter of the old folk-tale.

This theory, which I have adopted, necessitates rather severe excisions. The speeches of Elihu are commonly looked upon as an interpolation, hence I will deal with them last. The Jahweh speeches, however, are generally included in the original book.

Driver claims that the speeches of Jahweh were necessary to bring Job back to the right frame of mind toward Jahweh. According to chapter 31, Job was already in harmony with God, and in 42:7 Jahweh recognizes it.

It must be admitted that McFadyen¹ is right in saying that the Jahweh speech is expressly said to be an answer to Job. But we could say the same thing of the Elihu speech. Both were answers to Job, but both were probably by another hand, or other hands, than that of the dialogue.

Cornill argues that the Jahweh Speech is a natural expectation from the earlier part of the poem, in order to

¹*The Problem of Pain*. (James Clarke & Co., London, Second Edition), p. 209.

vindicate Job. But Job could surely expect no further vindication than that expressed in the epilogue.

Gray adds the further argument, that according to 42:7, a speech by Jahweh is presupposed. The verse reads, "And it came to pass after Jahweh had spoken these words to Job, Jahweh said to Eliphaz the Temanite". But compare chapter 38:1 in the Greek: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι Ἐλίων τῆς λέγεως εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἰὼβ διὰ λαίλαπος καὶ νεφῶν. It is to be noted, therefore, that the Septuagint makes the speech of Jahweh presuppose a speech by Elihu. In the dialogue, no chapter or speech begins in this way. Hence I would suppose the words, "After Jahweh had spoken these words to Job," to be an insertion, used to connect the Jahweh speeches with the epilogue, or perhaps a corruption of "and the words of Job are ended."

Gray points out that the indirect rebuke of Jahweh to Job was due to Job's rash words in the body of the book, and had no place at the time the story opened. However, the dialogue is an account of the testing in development, and since Jahweh rebukes Job for rash words, He is tacitly admitting that Job did not stand the test. This does not coincide with 42:7, and leads one to conclude that the Jahweh speeches are a later insertion.

A difference in literary style as well as point of view is to be noted. I would refer the reader to the word tabulations in the appendix of this introduction. It will be noted that the word אלה for the deity, as well as the word אלהה, occurs with less frequency in the Jahweh speeches than we would expect, if the writer of the dialogue were also the author of this section. אני only occurs half as often in the Jahweh speeches as in the dialogue, and אנכי is totally lacking. Of the three words used in the dialogue for "word" only one מלה is found here and that but once. דעה occurs twice, and only three times in the dialogue, היה only once while three times would be the proper frequency. תמים does not occur. Besides these words there are a few that are found elsewhere in Job only in the speeches of Elihu. The use of prepositions and particles is even more

striking. A given author might use a different vocabulary in discussing a new subject, or even the same subject from a different point of view, but he would certainly use the same particles and prepositions. It is quite noticeable that there are considerably fewer prepositions and particles in this section than in the dialogue.

While the dialogue uses five different words to express the idea of "unto", this section only has one, עַד. The same is true of "upon". A comparison of the words used to express the idea of "without", "where", the negative, "then", is interesting. The difference in ratio of the occurrence of the following is also to be noted: בְּ and שָׁם with the infinitive construct, "behold", the interrogative, the word for "that". These facts with the added difference of the total lack of any words used for "before" of place or time, "surely", "why", etc., must indicate a very different type of mind from that of the author of the rest of the book. This argument is, however, cumulative in force, and can only be appreciated after a careful study of the whole vocabulary.

The thought in this section is somewhat different from that in the dialogue and prologue. Jahweh does not accuse Job directly except in the first lines, but His attitude toward Job is one of reproof for the rash statements He had made to his friends. Any condemnation on the part of Jahweh for other sinfulness is lacking, as is any admission of other sin on the part of Job, 42: 3.

The speech is divided into two sections: the first, 38: 1-38, deals mostly with the phenomena of the heavens, while the second section, 38: 39—39: 30, is based on animal life. Two great doctrines are brought out here, the majesty and omnipotence of Jahweh, and His great and kindly care for His creatures. Both of these doctrines are more or less distinctly brought out in the speeches of Elihu. The attitude of both the Jahweh speeches and the Elihu speeches is very much the same. Neither accuse Job of more than ordinary sins. It has been claimed that the writer of the Elihu speeches took part of his ideas from the Jahweh speeches. The fact, however, that Elihu did not use any of the material

in chapter 39 for his argument militates against any such theory. Elihu was a close student of the dialogue and the prologue, and drew most of his arguments from them, and made scattered statements into a more composite whole. Moreover, we must conclude that if the Jahweh speeches were written at the time that the Elihu speeches were written, the author would not have failed to include the argument from the great mercy of God, contained in the latter section of the Jahweh speeches.

When we view all of these points of difference we must conclude that the original book of Job did not contain the chapters between 32:1 and 40:7.

I shall now deal with the Elihu speeches. These have been taken in various and widely different ways. Duhm looks at them as the empty bombast of a conceited young man, while Cornill and Budde regard them as the real solution of the problem of the book. Much of the Massoretic text is corrupt, and many lines have been added as glosses, interpolations, etc., while still others have been lost. The textual changes had a tendency to make the Elihu speeches appear to contain a very unsystematic argument.

With such restoration of the original text as is now possible, however, the Elihu speeches become a real and vital force in the solution of the problem of evil. Outside of the prologue, which was doubtless the solution offered by the author of the original book, these speeches alone attempt to give any systematic or convincing reason for suffering.

The arguments for rejecting these speeches from the original book are very strong. In the first place, we have the same argument as for the rejection of the Jahweh speeches. The plot of the book reads more smoothly without them.

No mention is made of Elihu in the Prologue. Stranger still, nothing is heard of him in the Epilogue. Cornill explains this by stating that since the author had incorporated his own ideas in this section he would hardly condemn himself with the three friends. But this argument will not stand.

The literary differences between the Elihu speeches and the rest of the book are striking. A large number of Aramaisms are found in this section.

For a few of the differences in literary style and vocabulary, I will refer to the tabulation at the end of this introduction. One is immediately struck with the preference Elihu has for **אלה** as a name for the Deity. In the dialogue the use of the three main words for God is quite evenly divided, but Elihu uses **אלה** three times as often as either of the other two words. **אני** occurs proportionally nearly three times as often as we would expect, and **אנכי** not so often. The three equivalents for "word" all occur with greater frequency than in the dialogue, especially **מלה**, which is used three times as often as we would expect. The words for human habitation or their verbal equivalent are entirely lacking. The greatly increased use of **דע, דעה, דעת** in Elihu's speech is also to be noted. **היה** does not occur in the Elihu speeches.

The increased use of "word" and "knowledge", and the lack of any word for human habitation, denote a different view point, and are the product of a more philosophical or abstract tendency of mind. The total lack of the verb "to be" is strongly indicative of another author. Note the frequency of these words in the tables at the end of this section.

The same argument is borne out when we examine the use of prepositions and particles. It is noteworthy that the proportionate number of these parts of speech in the dialogue is less than in the Elihu speeches. As a general rule the authors of the Elihu speeches and of the Jahweh speeches use the prepositions with their regular force, while the author of the dialogue uses them in a multiplicity of ways. If we examine the forces with which **ב** is used, we find the former using it with the idea of "in", "into", accompaniment, means, after verbs, and with the infinitive construct, while the latter adds to this list "at" of time, "on" (the day), "in" (the state), "within", "upon", "with", "against", "on", and "concerning". The different prepositions with the idea of "before" in place and time are also notable. **אין** and **אל** occur less frequently than expected as compared with the dialogue speeches, and **אז** more frequently. "Then"

is expressed by **יֵשׁ** and **יִשׁ** in the dialogue, and by **יִשׁ** in Elihu. "Without" is also enlightening in the different words used, and in the preferences which each section has.

These remarkable differences and preferences can only be satisfactorily explained by a theory of diversity of authorship.

The speeches of Elihu have their own introduction, 32: 1-5. This prose prologue is as diffuse as the following verses, in which Elihu introduces himself. In it he explains why he is about to speak, and why he is angry at the friends and at Job.

The introductory poem 32: 6-33: 7 is rather tiresome. The diffuseness and the apparent conceit of the author may be explained by the fact that he was an Oriental. The Arab of to-day will often punctuate his remarks, in conversing with a friend, with "'Isma, 'Isma!" There are, however, kernels of wheat in the apparent chaff that are well worth the hunting, e.g., 32: 8 "It is the spirit in man and the breath of the Almighty that giveth them understanding" and 33: 4 "The spirit of God hath roused me up and the breath of the Almighty giveth me instruction". In these two verses we must recognize Elihu as one of the school of wisdom to which, later, the author of "the Wisdom of Solomon" belonged. Here we have the "ru'ah" that pervades all things, and that is the agent of the Almighty.

Unlike the speakers of the dialogue, Elihu attempts to analyse the ideas Job has uttered, and to answer him as sanely, and yet as kindly as possible. Nowhere does Elihu condemn Job as a sinner, but always as one who speaks unwisely, without understanding the true aspects of the case.

To Elihu, Job was not the wicked man that the three friends had assumed him to be. Job's chief and perhaps only sin was that of ignorance. When Eliphaz, the most sympathetic of the friends, in his most humane speech, said in 5: 17, "Blessed is the man whom God reproveth, therefore the chastening of the Almighty do not thou despise", he believed in the guilt of Job. The reproof and chastening

were a punishment for sin, meant to turn him from iniquity. Elihu, on the other hand, did not consider Job as a sinner. Nowhere does Elihu condemn Job for more than ordinary sin such as is inherent in human nature, and he excuses his unjust statements against God on the ground of ignorance. Job felt assured of his own integrity, and could not make that coincide with the afflictions he was undergoing. Elihu practically admits his integrity, and attributes the unjust remarks against God to ignorance of the uses which God makes of affliction in regard to man. Job was right in claiming that his affliction was not due to sin. What he did not understand was that God used this means for the purpose of instruction.

That this was clearly Elihu's attitude towards Job is shown in his speeches. (Note the following passages, as I have translated them in Part III of this work: 32: 3, 9, 12b, 14; 35: 4.)

These verses should convince one that Elihu did not consider that his attitude toward affliction was the same as that of the three friends. Theirs was the old prophetic idea. God always rewards the good and punishes the evil. Hence affliction is a sure indication of past sins. Elihu's idea was that affliction was not punishment, but a means of instruction, for the righteous man as well as for the transgressor.

Elihu gives his opinion of Job's faults in verses 34: 7, 8. That is to say, in his affliction Job made himself appear, by his words, like a very wicked man. Again, I would refer to verses 34: 35-37; 35: 16, which make it abundantly clear that Elihu only considered Job's words against God as due to ignorance.

His ignorance lay in the fact that he did not understand the true purpose of affliction, and because of this ignorance he attributed unrighteous rule to Jahweh. (Note verses 32: 2; 34: 5; 35: 2.) To these verses may be added Job's statements of his complaint against God as recorded by Elihu. (Note 33: 9-12; 34: 6; 35: 3.)

Elihu shows a marked sympathy for Job. There is nothing bitter in his tone. (Note verses 33: 6-7; 33: 32.)

These verses show that Elihu's solution of the problem of suffering was quite different from that of Eliphaz, the most kindly disposed of the three friends. In the first place Elihu considered that affliction, whether mental or physical, may be solely for instruction. The sufferer should recognize this and bear his calamity with patience, assured that it will end in a happier state than before. If Job would only recognize this divine purpose he would understand the folly of his words. This is clearly brought out in verses 33: 16-19, 23G, 24; 36: 7-12.

The afflicted righteous will surely hear the instruction, and the results of the affliction will be beneficial. Transgression lies in not listening to God's voice, and the result of that is death (36: 15). Very severe affliction is necessary to perfect this instruction. There is temptation to chafe against suffering such as Job has undergone, but it should be resisted and patience applied (36: 18-21).

That the afflictions noted above were, to Elihu, a means of instruction is clearly shown in verse 36: 22.

"Behold, God doeth mightily in His strength,
Who is like Him as a teacher?"

To this may be added 33: 14, which assures us of the effectiveness of God's instruction:

"For once God speaketh,
And twice, He will not make it of no effect."

A further examination of this section shows many of the great attributes of God. God is gracious to the man who accepts His instruction (33: 27). Affliction is not necessarily a sign of previous sin (35: 15). God is kindly disposed toward man (34: 13-15). God is just (34: 11, 12, 17, 30). God is above the influence that perverts human arbiters. (34: 18, 19; 35: 8; 36: 5).

God is transcendent, unfathomable. The phenomena of nature tell of His presence, and of His majesty, but our knowledge of Him is still very limited (36: 26, 29; 37: 5).

He forms the clouds (36: 27, 28), and controls them (37: 11-13), and He feeds the people by means of the rain

from them (36:31). The lightning is under His control (vs 32). The thunder, and the whirlwind are also phenomena that are in direct contact with Him (37:9). His is the power that forms the ice (37:10). He created the firmament (37:18), and understands about the sirocco (37:16, 21, 22a). In his conclusion Elihu says quite effectively,

“As for God, We do not see His splendour,
As for the Almighty, we have not found Him.
He is great in strength and judgment,
And abundant in righteousness, He will not oppress.
Therefore do men fear Him,
Yea, all that are wise of heart fear Him.”

Arbitration between God and man is unnecessary and uncalled for. God is omniscient and knows the secrets of men's hearts. Why then should a man desire to plead his case before God? (34:20, 22).

Verses 23-28 explain the workings of His punishment of the evil.

Elihu explains also the right way in which man should regard God. He should make himself acceptable to God by prayer and temple worship (33:26; 34:31, 32).

God does not inquire of man how he would have Him act. He has His own methods (34:33), and it is man's own responsibility to accept them, and reap the benefits, or to refuse them and take the consequences. It is with this idea that Elihu begins his argument (33:13 and 34:33).

Man is prone to forget the blessings of God, which He has so bounteously bestowed upon him. He is selfish and it is only when he, himself, is harmed that he turns to God for help. Such a cry, says Elihu, is vanity, and God will not answer (35:12). God does not listen to vanity (35:13). How much less will God listen to Job when he says, “He will not save me” (35:14)! Job should rather show patience in his affliction and trust in God.

God requires that man praise Him for his goodness (36:24). Elihu did not condemn Job for more than ordinary sins, of which all men are guilty. He regarded affliction,

chiefly, as a source of instruction for mankind. Jahweh is omnipotent, omniscient, righteous, gracious to man, and not so interested in the punishment of sin as in the saving of men from it. Man should regard Him with the respect due to so great and so just a God.

We have here, therefore, a decided advance in the solution of the problem of evil from that found in the dialogue. It is also a real solution in comparison with that found in the Jahweh speeches. It contains something of the idea of testing as found in the prologue, but it adds greatly to it. God is more a teacher than a tester.

TABULATION OF WORDS

In the following tables chapters 3-31, with the exception of chapter 28, will be known as "R", chapters 32-37 as "E", and chapters 38-40:14; 42:1-6 as "J". The first three columns will indicate the exact number of times the word occurs. The fourth column will indicate the number of times a given word would be expected to occur in the Elihu Speeches if the writer of the dialogue had composed them. The fifth column will show the number of times it would be expected to have occurred in the Jahweh speeches had the writer of the dialogue been responsible for them. The last two columns are calculated on the exact number of verses in each of the three sections. R has 714 verses, E 165 verses and J 91 verses. Therefore the proportion of E to R is about 24 per cent., and that of J to R is about 13 per cent. Let us suppose, for example, that a word was found in R 20 times. If the same author wrote E we would expect to find it 4.80 times in E, and 2.60 times in J.

N.B.—N.E.E.—number expected in E. N.E.J.—number expected in J.

WORD	R.	E.	J.	N.E.E.	N.E.J.
אֵל	33	19	3	7.59	4.29
אלוה	33	6	2	7.59	4.29
שֶׁדִּי	24	6	1	5.52	3.12
אֲנִי	15	9	1	3.45	1.95
אֲנֹכִי	11	2	0	2.53	1.45
מֶלֶךְ	19	14	1	4.56	2.47
אֲמַר	6	4	0	1.44	.78
דָּבַר	10	4	0	2.40	1.30
בֵּית	18	0	2	4.32	2.34
אֵהָל	15	0	0	3.60	1.95
נוֹה	3	0	0	.72	.39
מוֹשֵׁב	1	0	0	.24	.13

WORD	R.	E.	J.	N.E.E.	N.E.J.
משכן	2	0	1	.48	.26
לון	8	0	2	1.92	1.04
ספה	1	1	1	.24	.13 (36: 29—habitation of God)
דע	0	2	0	.00	.00
דעה	1	4	0	.24	.13
דעת	3	5	2	.72	.39
היה	24	0	1	5.76	3.12
שחקים	0	4	1	.00	.00
תמים	0	1	0	.00	.00
תם	9	0	0	2.16	1.17

PREPOSITIONS AND PARTICLES

USAGE	WORD	R.	E.	J.	N.E.E.	N.E.J.
also	אף	6	7	1	1.44	.78
	גם	13	1	1	3.12	1.69
behold	הן	18	8	1	4.33	2.34
	הנה	6	2	1	1.44	.78
	הנה-זאת	1	0	0	.24	.13
	הנא-נא	1	2	0	.24	.13
	הן-זאת	1	0	0	.24	.13
	א	1	0	0	.24	.13
before(place)	ל	1	0	0	.24	.13
	לפני	7	3	0	1.64	.91
	נגד	1	0	0	.24	.13
	לנגד	1	0	0	.24	.13
	(time) בל	1	0	0	.24	.13
	ל	1	0	0	.24	.13
	לפני	4	1	0	.96	.52
	בטרם	1	0	0	.24	.13
	ה	35	7	21	8.40	4.55
	הל	14	0	0	3.36	1.82
Interrogative						

USAGE	WORD	R.	E.	J.	N.E.E.	N.E.J.
is not	אם לא	1	0	0	.24	.13
2nd inter.	אם	19	2	6	4.56	2.47
	או, או-מי	1?	1	5	.24?	.13?
negative	אין	23	5	0	6.52	2.09
	לא	17	4	0	4.80	2.08
	לא	167	57	14	48.24	26.13
surely	אך	1	1	0	.24	.13
	אם-לא	3	0	0	.72	.39
+ then	כי-אם	1	0	0	.24	.13
+ now	כי-עתה	1	0	0	.24	.13
+ not	אם	4	0	0	.96	.52
that	כי	28	5	7	6.72	3.64
then	אפן	5	0	0	1.20	.65
	אז	5	1	0	1.20	.65
	זה-	0	0	3	.00	.00
therefore	לכן	1	3	1	.24	.13
	על-כן	5	1	1	1.20	.65
unto	מפני	1	0	0	.24	.13
	על	1	6	0	.24	.13
	עלי	1	0	0	.24	.13
	עד	7	3	3	1.68	.91
	עדו	1	0	0	.24	.13
upon	ב	3	0	0	.72	.39
	ל	2	0	0	.48	.26
	על	52	5	7	12.48	6.72
	עלי	7	2	0	1.68	.91
	על-פני	4	1	0	.96	.52
without	עד-אין	3	0	0	.72	.39
	בלא	2	0	0	.48	.26
	לא-ב	1	4	0	.24	.13
	בלי	4	2	3	.96	.52
	בבלי	0	2	0	.00	.00
	מבלי	7	0	0	1.68	.91
	בבלתי	0	0	1	.00	.00

USAGE	WORD	R.	E.	J.	N.E.E.	N.E.J.
why	מה	2	0	0	.48	.26
	למה	7	0	0	1.68	.91
	למה-זה	2	0	0	.48	.26
	מדוע	5	1	0	1.20	.65
where	איה	6	1	0	1.44	.78
	איפה	1	0	1	.24	.13
	אי-זה	0	0	3	.00	.00
inf. cons.						
with	ב	8	3	5	1.92	1.04
	כ	4	0	0	.96	.52
	ל	2	11	5	.48	.26
	מן	0	1	0	.00	.00
	עד	2	0	0	.48	.26
inf. (ptcp.						
force)	ל	2	2	0	.48	.26
gerund force	ל	2	1	0	.48	.26
after verbs						
like	מאם	7	0	0	1.68	.91
Total number of pre-						
positions and particles		1681	438	203	403.44	218.54

The following words occur only in E and J: **ארב** 37:8; 38:40. **רחב** 36:16; 38:18. In the book of Job the following are common to E and J: **כנה** 37:3; 38:13; 39:13, 26. **מעונה** 37:8; 38:40. **צוה** 36:32; 37:12; 38:12. **רעם** 37:4, 5; 40:9. **גאון** 35:12; 37:4; 38:11, 40:10. **ידה** 37:22; 40:14. **כנע** 32:21 (emended); 40:12. **שחקים** 35:5; 36:28; 37:18, 21; 38:37. **תשאה** 34:29; 38:7. **מוסר** 33:16; 39:5. **רחוק** 36:3, 25; 39:25, 29.

To sum up the evidence which we may draw from the above lists: there are five possible theories as to the authorship.

(a) The writer of R, E, and J were the same.

(b) The writer of R was the same as that of E, and J was written by a second hand.

(c) The writer of R was the same as that of J, and E was written by a second hand.

(d) R was written by one author and E and J by a second.

(e) Each section was written by a different hand.

The evidence of the tables is against (a) as a possibility. This is shown by the great differences in the preference of words, prepositions, and particles in J and E as compared with R.

The same argument precludes the possibility of (b).

(c) This is more possible, but hardly probable. The frequency of words for "God" is not so great in J as in R. **אני** occurs only once and **אנכי** not at all. **מלה** occurs once. **אמר** and **דבר** are lacking. **היה** occurs less than one-third as often as we would expect if the author had been the same as that of R. The most notable difference in the uses of prepositions and particles is their paucity in J as compared with R (*cf.* totals). The greater frequency of **ה** interrogative is also quite striking. Only in J does **וה** occur in a compound with the significance of "then". These differences can only be explained by a theory of diversity of authorship.

(d) There are similarities between J and E, but there are also great differences. **ארב** and **רחב** only occur in J and E in the Old Testament. In the book of Job **כנף**, **מוסר**, **תשאה**, **שחקים**, **בנע**, **ידה**, **גאון**, **רעם**, **צוה**, **מעונה**, **רחוק** only occur in J and E. However, the great diversity of certain other words and particles precludes the possibility of a common author. If the two sections were composed by a single author, we would expect words for "God" in J used about seventeen times in place of the six which are found. The differences in the uses of particles is also notable: **ה** interrogative is used twenty-one times instead of about four, as would have been the case if a common author had been responsible for the two parts, and **אם** as a second interrogative six times instead of one. **אין** and **אל** are not found in J. **אל** occurs only fourteen times where some thirty-one times might have been expected.

The similarity of vocabulary can be explained by the theory that the author of J had access to E, while their preferences and uses of particles point to an entirely distinct authorship.

We have, therefore, precluded *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* as possibilities. Hence (*e*) is the only theory that can answer all arguments drawn from vocabulary, including prepositions and particles, at all satisfactorily.

PART II

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

VERSIONS

- A = Arabic Version of Saadya (London Polyglot).
Aq = Aquila's Version of Greek O.T. (Origenis Hexapla by Field).
Θ = Theodotian's Version of Greek O.T. (Origenis Hexapla—Field).
G = Septuagint (Swete's edition).
M = Massoretic Text of Hebrew O.T. (Kittel's Text).
S = Peshito Version of Syriac (London Polyglot).
Σ = Symmachus' Version of Greek O.T. (Origenis Hexapla—Field).
T = Targum (London Polyglot).
V = The Vulgate Edition of the O.T.

COMMENTARIES REFERRED TO

- Bu = K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob* (in Nowach's *Handkommentar*), 2nd Edition, 1913.
Ba = C. J. Ball, *The Book of Job*, a revised text and version (Oxford Clar. Press), 1922.
Be = G. Beer, Kittel's Hebrew Text (Hinricks, Leipzig, 1909).
Bi = G. Bickell, *Das Buch Job nach Anleitung der Strophik und der LXX auf seine ursprüngliche Form zurückgeführt, u. im Versmasse des Urtextes übersetzt*, 1894.
Du = B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob erklärt* in Marti's *Kurzer Handcommentar zum A. T.*, 1897.
Dr = S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel*, Oxford, 1913.
Di = A. Dillmann, *Hiob* (in *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*), 1891.
Ehr = A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebr. Bibel* (1913).
Gr = G. B. Gray and S. R. Driver, *The Book of Job*, (in the *International Critical Commentary*), T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1921.
Hi = F. Hitzig, *Das Buch Hiob übersetzt u. ausgelegt*, 1874.
Str = J. Strahan, *The Book of Job Interpreted* (Edin., T. & T. Clark), 1913.
Wr = G. H. B. Wright, *The Book of Job*, 1883.

LANGUAGES

- A = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Ass. = Assyrian.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 Nab. = Nabataean.
 Ph. = Phoenician Inscriptions.
 Pal. = Palmyrene.
 Vog = Palmyrene Inscriptions by C. J. M. de Vogue.
 S = Syriac.

REFERENCE BOOKS

- BDB = Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of O.T.
 NHWB = Neuhebraische u. Chaldaische Worterbuch uber die Talmuden u. Midraschin by Levy.
 GK = Gesenius-Kautsch Hebrew Grammar.
 iiR = Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia by H. Rawlinson.

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|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Gn = Genesis. | Dt = Deuteronomy. | Ch = Chronicles. | Is = Isaiah. |
| Ex = Exodus. | Jos = Joshua. | Neh = Nehemiah. | Jer = Jeremiah. |
| Lev, Lv = Leviticus. | Ju = Judges. | Ps = Psalms. | Lam = Lamentations |
| Nu = Numbers. | Sa = Samuel. | Prov = Proverbs. | Ez = Ezekiel. |
| | Kgs = Kings. | Ecc = Ecclesiastes. | Dn = Daniel. |
| | | | Mic = Micah. |

PART III

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

XXXII

1. And these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes.
- 2 And the anger of Elihu, son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, was kindled. His anger was kindled against Job, because he considered himself righteous rather than God.
3. Against his friends his anger burned, because they did not find an answer, and so caused God to appear wicked.
4. And Elihu waited when they were speaking with Job, because they were older in days than he.
5. And when Elihu saw that there was no answer in the mouth of the three men, his anger was kindled.
6. And Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite, answered and said,

ELIHU'S INTRODUCTION

I am young in days,

And ye are very old;

Therefore I withdrew myself, and was afraid

To declare my knowledge to you.

7. I considered that days should speak,

And that many years should declare wisdom.

8. But indeed, it is the spirit in man,

And the breath of the Almighty that giveth them understanding.

9. It is not those of many days who are wise,

Nor is it elders who understand judgment.

15. Behold, they are dismayed, they answer no more,
Words are removed from them.

16. And shall I wait when they do not speak?
When they stand, and answer no more?
10. For this reason I said, Hear me!
I also will declare my knowledge.
11. Behold, I have waited for your words,
And I have given ear to your sayings,
- 12a. And your testimonies I was considering,
- 11c. While you were searching for words.
- 12b. And behold, there is none that hath convicted Job,
Nor one of you who can answer his words.
13. Beware lest ye say, We have found wisdom,
God may vanquish him, not man.
14. I will not set forth words like these,
And with your sayings I will not answer him.
18. For I am full of words,
The spirit within me constraineth me.
19. Behold, my belly is like a wine bottle that has no vent,
Like bottles with new wine that are about to break.
20. Let me speak that I may have rest,
Let me open my lips and answer.
21. Let me not, I pray, show a regard to man,
Neither unto mankind humble myself.
22. For I know not how to give flattering titles,
If I did my Maker would soon take me away.

XXXIII

FIRST ARGUMENT

1. But indeed, hear now my speech,
And to all my words, give ear!
2. Behold now, I have opened my mouth,
My tongue in my palate hath spoken.
3. My mouth uttereth words of knowledge,
And my lips speak that which is pure.
4. For the spirit of God hath awakened me,
And the breath of the Almighty hath declared unto me.

5. If ye are able, answer me these words,
Prepare your arguments and stand before me.
6. Behold, I am like thee before God,
From a lump of clay I also was pinched off.
7. Behold, my terror will not frighten thee,
And my burden will not be heavy upon thee.
8. Yea, thou hast spoken in my ears,
And the sound of thy words I have heard.
9. Saying, pure am I, without transgression;
Clean am I, and there is no iniquity in me.
10. Behold, occasions of hostility against me he findeth,
He considereth me as an enemy to Him.
11. Behold, He placeth my feet in the stocks,
He watcheth all my paths.
12. Behold, I cry out and am not answered,
For God hideth His face from man.
13. Why hast thou contended with Him?
For none of thy words will He answer.
14. For, once God speaketh,
And twice, He will not make it of no effect,
15. In a dream, in a vision of the night,
In slumberings upon the bed.
16. Then, He uncovereth the ear of men,
And with visions of destruction, He terrifieth them,
17. In order to turn man aside from his deeds,
And to cut out pride from mortal men;
18. And in order to withdraw his soul from the pit,
And his life from passing into destruction.
19. Or He reproveth him with pain upon his bed,
And by the continuous strife of his bones,
20. So that his appetite maketh him to abhor bread,
And his soul pleasant food,
21. And his flesh is consumed by leanness,
And his bare bones are seen;
22. So that his soul approacheth unto the pit,
And his life to the destroying angels.
23. But even though the angels be against him,
One out of a thousand can not harm him,

- If it be in his heart to return unto God,
And to tell to men what he hath learned.
24. He will exempt him from going down to the pit,
He will find a ransom for his soul.
25. Then his flesh becometh fresher than in childhood,
He returneth to the days of his youth.
26. He prayeth unto God, and He is favorable to him,
And he appeareth before Him in the temple song.
And he proclaimeth unto man His righteousness;
He singeth unto man and saith,
27. I have sinned and perverted truth,
Yet He hath not meted out unto me according to my
iniquity.
28. He hath ransomed my soul from the pit,
And my life seeth the light.
29. Behold, all these things God doeth,
Twice, three times with man,
30. To bring back his soul from the pit,
That he may see the light of the living.
31. Hearken O Job, listen to me,
Be silent, and I will speak.
32. If thou hast words (to say) answer me,
Speak, for I had been pleased to justify thee.
33. If not, do thou hear me,
Be silent, and I will teach thee wisdom.

XXXIV

SECOND ARGUMENT: (a) GENERAL

1. And Elihu answered and said,
2. Hear, ye wise men my words,
And ye knowing ones, give ear unto me.
3. For the ear testeth words,
As the palate tasteth food.
4. Let us choose what is right for us,
Let us know among ourselves what is good.
5. For Job hath said, I am righteous,
And God hath taken away what is my due.

6. In spite of my being in the right, I am misunderstood,
My pains are incurable, although I am without
transgression.
7. What man goeth about like Job,
Drinking up scorning like water,
8. Joining himself with workers of iniquity,
And going with men of wickedness?
9. For he saith, It doth not profit a man
When he is well pleasing to God.
10. Therefore, men of heart, hearken to me!
And give ear to all my words!
11. According to the work of man He requiteth him,
And according to the way of man He causeth to befall
him.
12. Yea, indeed God will not do wickedly,
And the Almighty will not pervert what is right.
13. Who hath entrusted to Him the earth?
And who hath placed upon Him all the world?
14. If He should take back unto Himself his spirit,
And unto Himself gather his breath,
15. All flesh would expire together,
And man unto the dust would return.

SECOND ARGUMENT (b)

16. And if thou hast understanding, Hear this!
Give ear to the sound of my words!
17. Can indeed, one that hateth Judgment, rule?
Or will the Mighty, the Just One do evil?
18. He who saith unto a king, Worthless fellow!
Most wicked ones! to nobles;
19. Who regardeth not princes,
And who doth not recognize the wealthy before the
poor.
20. For his eyes are upon the ways of man,
And all his steps He seeth,
22. There is no darkness nor deep gloom,
Where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.

23. Surely, there is not unto man a fixed time,
When he may go unto God in judgment.
24. He breaketh the mighty without examination,
And He causeth others to stand in their place.
26. And they are crushed under the wickedness of their deeds,
They come to an end in the place of evil doers,
27. Because they have turned aside from after Him,
And all His ways they have not heeded.
28. So that they have caused to come unto Him the cry of
the poor,
And the outcry of the humble He heareth.
29. If He is silent, who then can condemn Him?
If He hideth His face, who then can chasten Him?
30. Both towards a nation and towards an individual, He is
keen (*i.e.*, keenly watchful)
Lest one who might ensnare the people should rule.
31. For unto God, ought one to say,
I have borne punishment yet without offending?
32. Nay rather, If I have sinned, do thou teach me,
If I have done iniquity, I will do so no more.
33. Is it according to thy pleasure God should requite,
That thou hast refused His judgment?
But thou must choose, and not I;
And what thou knowest, speak!
34. Men of heart will say to me,
Even the wise man who is listening to me,
35. Job speaketh without knowledge,
And his words are without prudence.
36. But indeed, let him be tried to the limit of endurance,
For his answering like men of iniquity.
37. For he clappeth his hands among us,
And he multiplieth his words against God.

XXXV

THIRD ARGUMENT

1. And Elihu answered and said.
2. Hast thou counted this to be just?
That thou hast said, I am more righteous than God.

3. For thou sayest, What doth it profit me,
What advantage to me more than if I had sinned?
4. I will answer thee with words,
And thy three friends with thee.
5. Look at the heavens and see,
And behold the sky which is higher than thou!
6. Even if thou hast sinned, what workest thou against Him?
And though thy transgressions be many, what doest
thou to Him?
7. If thou art righteous, what dost thou advantage Him?
Or what will He take from thy hand?
8. Thy wickedness may harm a man like thee,
Or thy righteousness may help a son of man.
-
9. Because of the multitude of oppressors men cry out,
They call for help because of the arm of the mighty.
10. They have not said, Where is the God that made us?
Who giveth us songs in the night?
11. Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth,
And maketh us wiser than the fowls of the heavens?
12. There they cry out,—but He answereth not;—
Because of the pride of the wicked.
13. Yea, vanity God doth not hear,
And the Almighty doth not notice it.
14. How much less, when thou sayest, He will not save me,
Be silent and wait patiently before Him!
15. And now, surely, He will not visit with His anger,
Nor will He take much notice of transgression.
16. But Job with vanity openeth his mouth,
Without knowledge, he multiplieth words.

XXXVI

FOURTH ARGUMENT

1. And Elihu added and said,
2. Wait for me a little, and I will tell thee,
For still I have words to say on behalf of God.

3. I bring my knowledge from afar,
And to my Maker I will ascribe righteousness.
4. For indeed, my words are not a lie;
One that is sound in knowledge is with thee.
5. Behold, God rejecteth not the upright,
- 6a. The Mighty One doth not suffer the wicked to live.
- 6b. What is right to the afflicted, He granteth,
- 7a. And He withdraweth not His eyes from the righteous.
- 7b. Whether as kings on the throne,
He causeth them to sit in glory, so that they are
exalted,
8. Or as prisoners in chains He causeth them to sit,
So that they are taken in the cords of affliction,
9. It is that He may tell to them their works,
And their transgressions, that they have behaved
themselves proudly;
10. That He may uncover their ears to instruction,
And command that they turn away from iniquity.
11. If they hearken to Him, and are obedient,
They will complete their days in goodness.
12. And if they hearken not, then they transgress,
And expire without knowledge.
13. The polluted of heart are astonished, they cry not out,
Yea, they cry not out when He hath bound them.
14. Their soul dieth in youth,
And their life like the temple prostitutes.
15. He delivereth the afflicted by his affliction,
And He uncovereth his ear by means of oppression.
16. Moreover, He would have turned thee from distress,
Broadness, unstraitened had been thy lot;
17. And thy table had been full of fatness,
Righteousness, and judgment had supported thee.
18. But beware, lest it (affliction) entice thee to scorning,
And lest the greatness of the price turn thee aside.
19. Can He prepare thy salvation without affliction,
And without all the strivings of strength?
20. Long not for the rest of the night,
When people go up to their place of rest.

21. Take care, lest thou turn unto evil,
For because of this, thou hast been tried with affliction.
22. Behold, God doeth mightily in His strength,
Who is like Him as a teacher?
23. Who hath examined His way?
Who hath said, Thou hast done iniquity?
24. Remember that thou magnify His work,
About which men sing.
25. All men have seen it,
Man looketh on from afar.
26. Behold, God is great and unknown,
The number of His years is unsearchable.
27. For He withdraweth drops from the sea,
He bindeth up the rain for His misty cloud,
28. Which the skies pour down,
They drop upon men abundantly.
29. And who understandeth the spreading of the clouds?
Who knoweth the thunderings of His tabernacle?
30. Behold He hath spread over it His misty cloud,
And the tops of the mountains He hath covered.
31. For by them He feedeth the peoples.
He giveth food abundantly.
32. Upon His two hands He covereth the lightning,
And layeth a charge upon it to go against a mark.
33. His thunder telleth concerning Him,
Yea, His whirlwind calleth aloud.

XXXVII

1. Yea, at this my inward parts tremble,
And my heart is moved from its place.
2. Hearken unto the rumble of His voice,
And to the muttering that goeth out from His mouth.
3. Under all Heaven He sendeth it out,
And His light over the extremities of the earth.
4. After it His voice roareth,
He thundereth with the voice of His pride.

- Yea, He restraineth not His thunder,
When He letteth His voice be heard.
5. God showeth us wonders,
He doeth great things that we do not comprehend.
6. For, to the snow He saith, Fall upon the earth!
To the showers and rain, Be strong!
7. By its (rain and snow) power He shutteth up all men,
In order that mortal man may know His work.
8. And the beast cometh into the lair,
And dwelleth in its den.
9. From the chamber cometh the whirlwind,
And from the storehouses cometh the cold.
10. By the breath of God, ice is given,
And the breadth of waters is straightened.
11. Yea, the fog is laden with moisture,
The cloud scattereth its flood,
12. And moveth around about,
Turned higher and thither by His guidance,
That it may do all His commands,
Over the face of His habitable earth,
13. Whether for discipline or for oppression,
Or for kindness, He sendeth it forth.
14. Give ear to this, O Job,
And consider the wonders of God!
15. Dost thou know when God set the pillar of cloud,
And when He made to shine the light of His cloud?
18. Canst thou like Him beat out the skies,
Strong like a molten mirror?
16. Dost thou understand the general thickening in the
sky,
That bringeth heat from the South?
21. And now men see not the light,
It is obscure in the sky.
A wind passeth and cleanseth it,
- 22a. From the North cometh brightness.
19. Tell me what we should say to Him,
That we may not be in dread of the darkness.

20. Shall it be told Him that I would speak?
Or shall a man speak when he is about to be swallowed
up?
- 22bc. As for God, we do not see His splendour,
As for the Almighty, we have not found Him.
23. He is great of strength and judgment,
And abundant in righteousness, He will not oppress.
24. Therefore do men fear Him,
Yea all that are wise of heart fear Him.

THE ELIHU SPEECHES.

JOB 32-37.

1. וישבתו שלשת האנשים האלה מענות את-איוֹב כי הוא צדיק בעיניו.
2. ויחד אף אליהוא בן-ברכאל הבווי ממשפחת רם חרה אפו באיוֹב על צדקו נפשו מאלהים.
3. בשלשת רעיו חרה אפו על אשר לא מצאו מענה וירשיעו את-אלהים.
4. ואליהוא חפה בדרבם את-איוֹב פי זקנים-המה ממנו לימים.
5. וירא אליהוא כי אין מענה בפי שלשת האנשים ויחד אפו.

1. Bu follows G and connects the last words of 31:40, "And Job's words are ended", with this section of the book.

שלשת האנשים G *οἱ τρεῖς φίλοι αὐτοῦ*

בעיניהם—Bu follows G *ἐναντίον αὐτῶν* and reads (so S and A). Gr points out that this reading would have required היה rather than הוא; cf. Gn 27:23 כי היו ידיו כירי עשו.

איוֹב—was doubtless a typical name, cf. G, A, S, also Amarna 2566 "Ajab".

2. אליהוא — occurs seven times in these chapters, and אליהו four times. Also cf. 1 Sa 1:1, where Elihu appears as an Ephraimite, 2 Ch 27:18, as a brother of David, 2 Ch 12:20, as a captain in the tribe of Manasseh, 2 Ch 26:7 as a Korahite; hence probably a Hebrew name made up of two parts אלי הוא "He is my God". Gr notes, in his "Studies in Hebrew Proper Names", that proper names compounded with אל or יה are more frequent in post-exilic times.

ברכאל—a Semitic name, G *βαραχιλ*, cf. Bab. *bariki-ili*, Levy's Ph 14: 860.4 ברכבעל, Vog 117.3 בל ברך, which

is on a tablet put up by Bal-barek for the safety of his brother and himself, 272 A.D.; also cf. Is 8:2 **יברכיהו**, 1 Ch 3:29 **ברכיה** etc. The verbal element may be imperative (so Olsh), but more likely, as in the case of Phoenician, it is perfect. Du considers it to be impf., a contracted form of **יברכאל**.

הבוז—adj. loc. G *ὁ βουζέλης*, Aq *του Βουζι*; cf. Ass. noun prop. loc. *bazu*. It is a proper name of a tribe mentioned with **דרן** and **תימא** Jer 23:23; a Gadite 1 Ch 5:14. It is interesting to compare this word with **משפחות** **ובוז** in chap. 31:34. It may have been more than a chance that the author responsible for these lines selected a man of Buz to reprove Job.

רם—A *رَم*, V *Ram*, T **אברהם**, S *رَم*, G *Ράμ*, Aq *Ραμα*, Σ *Συρίας*. In Ruth 4:19, Ram was the distant ancestor of David. 1 Ch 2:9, 10, Ram is one of the children of Israel, brother of Jerahmeel. Du and Gr both consider that the name was not chosen because of its affinity to Aram, but because of its meaning.

מפגדה יהודה—“rather than”, cf. **מנ**—**מאלהים**. G *ἐναντίον* would presuppose M **לפני**.

נפש צדק—Pi. rt. **צדק** “to show self right”.

חרה אפו באיוב—transpose before **באיוב**. The verb usually comes first and there seems to be no good reason for putting special emphasis on **באיוב**.

Hoff and Bu consider vss 2-5 as an addition, owing to the many repetitions involved in them, and they read vs 1 with vs 6a to complete the introduction. Vss 1-6 comprise a prose prologue used to connect the speeches of Elihu with the dialogue.

3. **לֹא מִצָּא מַעֲנָה**—G adds *ἀντιθετα Ἰωβ*; cf. vs 15. Much of the material of the opening verses seems to be included in the first section of the poem.

וירשעו את איוב—S, G read **איוב** with **מַעֲנָה**. According to Gr the force of **לֹא מִצָּא** in **לֹא מִצָּא** is carried over into **וירשעו**, cf. 3:10. Bu treats the waw consec. impf. as in 2 Sa 19:29, **אֲבִי כִי אִם אֲנֹשִׁי מוֹת** **כִּי לֹא הָיָה כָּל בֵּית** **לְאֹדְנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְתִשֶׁת**—“and yet”. The friends had not

answered Job, yet, in spite of that fact, they condemned him; cf. *G και ἔθεντο αὐτὸν εἶναι*, V sed tantummodo condemnassent Job (so S). However Elihu's chief interest was not to justify Job, but God. The Hebrew tradition **תקון סופרים** says **איוב** is an error for **אלהים**; i.e. the friends condemned God by not answering Job's heretical statement (so Bu, Ba).

אלהו—read **אלהוא**, evidently a scribal error.
את איוב בדברים—universally recognised as an impossible Hebrew construction. *G δοῦναι ἀποκρισιν Ἰώβ*; cf. vs 7.16. **חכה** usually takes **ל**, so Du reads **את איוב**, **לשיב את חכה**, Wr **את** **בדברים** “while they spoke with”. Ehr reads **בדברים** but does not transpose: hence, “with Job while they spoke”.

5. **חרה אפו** or **ויחר אפו** occurs four times in these five verses; cf. **בווי**—perhaps the anger of Elihu was the cause of his being called “the Buzite”, or the name “Buzite”, taken from the previous chapter, was the cause of the editor's attributing to him wrath.

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|----------------------------------|-----|
| ויען אליהוא בן-ברכאל הבווי ויאמר | 6. |
| צעיר אני לימים | |
| על-פן זחלתי ואירא | |
| מחות דעי אתכם. | |
| (ורב) שנים ידיעו חכמה. | 7. |
| ונשמת שדי תבינם. | 8. |
| וזקנים יבינו משפט. | 9. |
| העתיקו מהם מלים. | 15. |
| כי עמדו ולא-ענו עוד. | 16. |
| אחזה דעי אף-אני. | 10. |
| ואאזין עד תכונתיכם. | 11. |
| עד תחקרון מלים | 12. |
| ועונה אמריו מפם. | |
| אל ידפנו לא-איש. | |
| ובאמריכם לא אשיבנו. | 13. |
| הציקתנו רוח בטני. | 14. |
| פאבות חדשים יפקעו. | 18. |
| אפתח שפתי ואענה. | 19. |
| | 20. |

21. אֶל־נָא אִשָּׁא פְּנֵי־אִישׁ וְאֶל־אָדָם לֹא אֶפְנֶעַ.

22. כִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֲכַנָּה כִּמְעַט יִשְׁאַנִּי עֵשְׂנִי.

6. וַיֹּאמֶר—accent over י (see GK 68e).

Ley reads אִמְרָתִי צִעִיר, but metre here is not sufficient evidence to go on.

וְקָנִים . . . לַיָּמִים—cf. vs 4 לַיָּמִים—*for length of time*, cf. vs 4 לַיָּמִים . . . 15:10 כְּבִיר מֵאֲבִיךָ יָמִים.

יִשְׁשִׁים—only in Job in OT from יָשַׁשׁ par. שָׁב, and כְּבִיר . . . יָמִים.

The line seems to be short, but nothing entirely satisfactory can be suggested. Du and Ba place כֻלְכֻם after יִשְׁשִׁים omitted before עַל־כֵּן and in rhythm with אַתְּכֶם. Bu and Bi better שְׁבִים יִשְׁשִׁים. כֻלְכֻם seems rather flat. But both are mere conjectures to complete a three foot line.

וְחָלָתִי—Hi, Du, Gr take it from the same root as Aram. דַּחַל, S “to fear” A دَحَلَ “rancour”. It only occurs here. Better with Bu from root of A رَحَلَ, S رَحَلَ “to withdraw”, used of reptiles withdrawing themselves under stones etc.; cf. Dt 32:24, Mic 7:17. Also cf. G ἡσυχασα “was quiet”.

מִחוּת—Pi. inf. cons. with prep. מִן after אִירָא; cf. Dt 1:29 תִּירָאֵן מֵהֶם וְלֹא חוּה. חוּה used in Pi. only in Job and once in Ps 19:3; here used with a double acc. It is the Aram. equivalent of the more Hebrew הִנִּיר which can take a double acc.; cf. vs 26:4.

אַתְּכֶם—Bu and Be read אַתְּכֶם quite unnecessarily.

7. וְרַב שָׁנִים—par. to יָמִים, equivalent to “many years”. Gr explains the plu. of יָדִיעוּ as a case of attraction, influenced by יִדְבְּרוּ. It is better to consider it a case in which the predicate agrees with the noun in the genitive rather than the nomen regens, as in vs 15:20, 21:21, 29:10 (see GK 146a). The plu. may also be explained if we consider וְרַב as a ditto. from יִדְבְּרוּ, or influenced by רַב יָמִים in vs 9.

אִמְרָתִי—I said (to myself)=I thought.

8. אֲכֵן—a strong particle used to introduce a fact, after what has been mistakenly said (cf. Zeph. 3:7).

רוח היא—Bu and Bi insert **אל** after **רוח**. This makes a long line and does not help the sense. Du reads **רוח תאיר אנוש**, and refers to Ps 119:130, where **תאיר** and **הבין** stand close together. Ba reads **אל** for **היא**; cf. 33:4, S **אל**, V *est*, G *ἐστιν*, Aq *ἐσται*, T **בקושטא** **רוח נבואתא היא בכר נש מימר שדי תביננון** is evidently a gloss. Most versions can be explained by **היא**. Gr explains the vs as follows: **רוח** is pred., **תביננון** a noun clause as subj. and **היא** used in anticipation of that subj. Translate “But indeed, it is the spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty which maketh them to understand.”

תביננון—Ba reads **תבינהו** to agree with **אנוש**, but a plu. suff. may be used to stand for a collective noun; cf. Aq, θ, *αὐτους*, S **בִּעֲבָר**.

9. **רבים**—can only mean “of high degree” or “many”, and this is not a good par. to **וקנים**. Bu reads **שבים**, but cf. S **רבים**, V *longaevi*, G *οἱ πολυχρόνιοι*, Lxx **רבי ימים**. Du Be much better **רב ימים**, cf. vs 7 **רב שנים**.

The negative idea in (a) is carried over into (b).

10-17—Bu omits 11, 12, 15-17 and reads 9, 14, 10, 18 etc. Du omits 10 after **לכן** and reads **לכן** + 15, 16, 17, 11ab, 12a, 11c, 12bc, 13, 14, 18. Str reads 9, 15, 16, 17a, 10b, 11ab, 12a, 11c, 12bc, 13, 14, 18. Ba 19, 11, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22. Bu deletes more than necessary. Du is much better, and Str follows him very closely. I read 9, 15, 16, 10, 11ab, 12a, 11c, 12bc, 13, 14, 18. Vs 15 following vs 14 is very difficult. We have a change of persons without any reason, and the result is very disconcerting. For this reason Ba deletes 15 and 16, but vs 15 follows vs 9 quite naturally: “the old men and so are silent.”

15. The subj. of **חתו** is **וקנים** understood. The first line is short, and therefore Du uses **לכן** of vs 10, but this is rather violent. Better insert **הנה**.

העתק מן—cf. Gn 12:18; 26:22, NH “to remove”, A **عتف** “to release”, Ass. *eteku* “to push forward”; here it has an intransitive sense.

16. **והחלתי** (Gr, Du) interrogative without the particle, introduced by waw consec. (GK 112cc), "and should I wait"; cf Ez 18:24.

10. Du places **לכן** with 15a, and reads 17 here. However, one of the chief reasons for Elihu's speaking is supposed to be because of the failure of the friends to find words to say. For this reason, I prefer to leave the particle in its place.

שמעה-לי — cf. S **سمعونى**, V Audite me, A **اسمعونى**, G **ἀκουσατε με**; hence read **שמעו-לי** (so Hi, Bu, Be, Gr, Ba). Du omits 10a, and reads 17a as being more poetical; however, the G of vs 17 makes one suspicious of its authenticity.

אף-אני — **אף** is usually used in poetry where **גם** is used in prose (B D B p. 64.) **אף** is a favorite word of Elihu; cf. 34:12, 17; 35:14, etc.

17. **אענה אף אני חלקי אחזה דעי אף-אני** — (a) is evidently a duplicate of 10a, and **אף אני** in (a) is very suspicious, probably a variant of 10a. This suspicion is only increased if we cf. G **ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ἑλιοὺς λέγει**.

11. **הוחלתי** — usually Pi. but here and in 16 the Hiph. is used. Cf. Σ **ἰδοὺ ὑπομείνα τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν**.

ואזין — ואזין a contract form on the analogy of **ע"ן** verbs, and doubtful (GK 86i).

עד — (Bu) implies eagerness.

ועדיכם — Gr takes it as **עד** in 11b; cf. S **سمعتكم**, A **سمعتكم**; hence read **עדיכם**, insert **ועד** omitted by a scribe, and transpose 12a before 11c, since 11c is a climax to the verbosity of Job's critics and friends.

מלין — read **מלים**, **ל** is obviously an oversight of an Aramaic scribe. The word appears 38 times in Job and only 4 times in the remainder of the OT (ex. Ps 89:4, 2 Sa 23:2, Prov 23:9, Ps 19:5).

12bc. **והנה** — shows a close connection between this verse and the preceding, "as a result".

אין לאיב — **אי** = "belongs to"; cf. Gn 9:30 **אין לה** — "she has not".

מוכיח—"a convincer", Gr "one to convict", Str "that convinced", Du "der rugte"="who blamed"; quite different from 9:33.

The negative idea of (a) goes over into (b).

13. פן as a warning like אל, cf. 36:18, also Is 36:18, פן יסית אתכם חזקיהו "beware lest".

נדה—root נדף a Kal juss. form. The root contains the idea of "defeating" or "crushing"; cf. Ps 1:4, 68:3, Job 13:25 תערוץ נדה העלה; also cf. Σ ἀπορριψει. It shows the utter helplessness of Job when God begins His argument.

14. Du reads ערך אלי with M, explaining that Job had not spoken anything against him but against God (cf. 13:18; 23:4). Better read with Gr, S, A אערך par. to אשיב, and for אלי read כאלה with G τολαῦτα, making מלים כאלה par. to באמריכם, and translate "I will not set forth such words as these, nor will I answer him with your sayings".

18. follows vs 14 much better than vs 17. We have here then the reason Elihu does not have to use the words of the friends.

מלתי = מלאתי; cf. יצתי 1:21, a contract form (GK 23f).

אני—the line is short; therefore read with Du כי אני or אניכי. Ley suggests כי פי. Ball reads with the suggestion of G ארבר כי.

הציקתני—root צוק "to constrain" or "bring into straits", NH "be distressed", "be narrow", Aram. עיק, S ܥܝܩ; cf. 4:2 ועצר מלים מי יוכל, the idea is like that of סא "to make narrow" so that the container is too small.

בטן used in this way in 15:2, 35. Also cf. the use of מעה Ps 40:9, כבד Lam 2:11, כליה Job 19:27.

19. הנה—for m.c., with Bi, Gr, Ba הן.

Gr connects יבקע with במני as a grammatical object, hence a clerical error for תבקע, mistaken because of יפתח (so Du, Ba). However I would take כאבות חדשים as par. to כיין, and יבקע par. to יפתח, and translate "Behold my belly is like wine that has no vent, like new wine-skins which are about to break."

יין stands for wine-bottle, and אבות חדשים for the skins containing the new wine.

20. אֲדַכְּרָה—cohortative and emphatic.

רוּחַ root רִוַח “to be wide”, NH id, רוּחַ a wide space, Aram. רוּחַ “to be wide”; cf. 1 Sa 16:23—a figure of relief for Saul, “respite” in Est 4:14, so Ex 8:11 Lam 3:56.

וְאֶעֱנָה par. to אֶפְתָּח שְׁפִתַי; cf. 8:5.

21. Several alternatives of (b) have been suggested, but none are satisfactory.

הַפְּנִי תִשְׁאוֹן — cf. 13:8 אִשָּׁא פְנֵי אִישׁ.

אֲכַנֶּה is difficult. V *aequabor*, T אֲדַמְתָּם, G *ἐντραπῶ*, S *احسب* “be ashamed”; cf. Jud 3:30 where וְתִכְנַע is translated by the G *ἐντραπή*. So also note the M and G of 2 Kgs 22:19, 2 Ch 7:14, 12:7, 12. This word is also supported by S. Therefore I would suggest that אֲכַנֶּה of vs 21 has become confused with אֲכַנֶּה of vs 22. Translate “Let me not regard any man, nor will I humble myself before men.

22. יִדְעֵתִי אֲכַנֶּה—The impf. used here is uncommon in Hebrew. Gr cites Is 42:21, and explains it as a Syriac construction. Ba asserts that the expression is impossible, and reads לִשְׂאֵת פָּנִים with G. But it is a good Arabic or Syriac construction and quite possibly correct here.

כָּנָה—S id, A *ك* Aram כָּנָה; cf. Is 45:4; 44:5.

כַּמְעַט —cf. Ps 81:15 כַּמְעַט אוֹיְבֵיהֶם אֲכַנֶּיֶךָ —“Had . . . soon would I have subdued their enemies.”

עָשִׂנִי—S *هسى* an indication that the Syriac has been translated from the Hebrew.

CHAPTER XXXIII

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|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. וְאִלֵּים שָׁמַע־נָא מִלִּי | וְכָל־דְּבָרֵי הָאוֹזְנָה. |
| 2. הִנֵּה־נָא פִתְחֹתִי פִי | דְּבָרָה לְשׁוֹנִי בַחֲפִי. |
| 3. יִשְׁיַח־פִּי אֲמַרְי דַּעַת | וּשְׁפִתִי בְרוּר מִלֵּלֵי. |
| 4. רוּח־אֵל עֲזָרְתִּנִּי | וּנְשַׁמַּת־שְׂרֵי תַחֲוִנִי. |
| 5. אִם תּוֹכַל הִשְׁבִּנִי אֵלֹה | עֲרֵכָה וְהִתִּיצְבָה לִפְנֵי. |
| 6. הֵן־אֲנִי כַפִּיךָ לֹאֵל | מִחֲמַד קִרְצָתִי גַם־אֲנִי. |

7. הנה אימתי לא תבעתך ואכפי עליך לא יכפר.
8. אך אמרת באוני וקול מליך שמעתי.
9. זך אני בלי פשע חף אני ולא עון לי.
10. הן תנואות עלי ימצא יחשבני לאויב לו.
11. הן ישים בסר רגלי ישמר כל ארחתי.
12. הנה צעקתי ולא אענה פי מעלים אלוה מאנוש.
13. מדוע אליו ריבות כי כל-דברך לא יענת.
14. כי-באחת ידבר-אל ובשתים לא יפרנת.
15. בחלום בחזיון לילה בתנומות עלי משכב.
16. אז יגלה און אנשים ובמראי מחתה יחתם.
17. להסיר אדם ממעשהו וגוה מגבר יכסת.
18. ויחשך נפשו מני-שחת וחיתו מעבר בשלח.
19. והוכחנו במכאוב על משכב. ובְּרִיב עצמיו אתן.
20. וזהמתו חיתו לחם ונפשו מאכל תאנה.
21. ויכל בשרו מרוון ושפי עצמתיו ראו.
22. ותקרב לשחת נפשו וחיתו למו ממתים.
23. אם יש עליו מלאכים לא יצקהו אחד מני-אלה.
24. אם בלבו לשוב לא יפרעהו מדרת שחת ולהגיד לאדם מוסרו.
25. ימפש בשרו מנער ימצא כפר לנפשו.
26. יעתר אל-אלוה וירצהו ישוב לימי עלומיו.
27. ויבֹשֶׁר לאנוש צדקתו וירא לפניו בתרועת.
28. חטאתי וישר העויתי ישיר על-אנשים ויאמר.
28. פדה נפשי משחת ולא שוה לי כעוני.
29. הן-כל-אלה יפעל-אל וחיתי באור תראה.
- פעמים שלש עם גבר.

30. לְהַשִּׁיב נַפְשׁוֹ מִנִּי־שַׁחַת לְרֹאוֹת כְּאוֹר הַחַיִּים.
 31. הִקְשֵׁב אִיּוֹב שִׁמְע־לִי הָחֵרֶשׁ וְאֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר.
 32. אִם־יִשְׁמָעִים הַשִּׁבְנִי דָּבָר כִּי־חִפְצָתִי צִדְקָה.
 33. אִם־אֵין אַתָּה שִׁמְע־לִי הָחֵרֶשׁ וְאֵלֶפֶךְ חֲכָמָה.

1. אִלֶּם—a word used in beginning a new subject, frequent in Job, especially in the prologue and dialogue.

אִיּוֹב—is likely a gloss, omit m.c.

שִׁמְע־נָא מִלִּי—a favorite expression of Elihu and Job; cf. 13:6; 21:2; 32:10; 33:31, 33; 34:2, 19, 16; 37:2. Cf. the use of *اسمع* by the Arabs in Palestine to-day. An Arab in arguing will begin nearly every statement he makes, in this way.

הִנֵּה־נָא עָרַכְתִּי מִשְׁפָּט —cf. 13:18

פֶּתַח אִיּוֹב פִּיהוּ —cf. 3:1 פֶּתַחְתִּי פִּי, so 9:5; 32:20; 35:16.

חֲכִי —cf. 20:13, בְּתוֹךְ חֲכוֹ —palate of the mouth, par. to שִׁפְתַּי in Prov 5:3; also cf. שִׁפְתַּי Prov 8:7, כִּי אִמַּת יִהְיֶה חֲכִי וְתוֹעֵבַת שִׁפְתֵי רָשָׁע.

3. יִשָּׁק לְבִי אֲמַרִי דַּעַת —Du Joel 2:24 (so Gr and Be); Bu reads יִשָּׁק לְבִי אֲמַרִי וְדַעַת שִׁפְתֵי בְרוּר מִלֵּלָו and translates, "My words are upright like my heart, and what my lips know they speak out". Du's is better metrically. Bu's first line is too short and his second too long. Ba reads יִשָּׁק בְּלִבִּי אֲמַרִי דַּעַת. I would suggest either יִשָּׁק, cf. note on vs 27, or better יִשָּׁח, cf. Ps 145:5.

פ. שִׁפְתֵי —S. *وَصَفْتُ*, A. *مَعَا*; hence read פִּי par. to בָּ, became ב, and ל was inserted to make sense.

אֲמַרִי —read אֲמַרִי.

וְדַעַת —ditto. hence omit. This gives us excellent parallels. מִלֵּלָו par. to יִשָּׁח, בְּרוּר par. to דַּעַת, and פִּי וְשִׁפְתֵי par. to שִׁפְתֵי.

בְּרוּר —root בָּרַר, cf. *pure*, *free*, Ass. *bararu* "shine"; here used as an adv. This form is used in Zeph 3:9 as an adj. to mod. שִׁפְתֵי.

4. הַצִּיקְתָּנִי —עֹוֶרְתָּנִי = S. *أعربتني*; cf. 32:8, 18 רֹחַ בִּטְנִי

תחיני — G ἡ διδάσκουσά με = **תחיני**. The change is slight, and the meaning more in conformity with 32:8. Du would alter its position, or omit with Bu. Peake and Ba place it after vs 6. As I have emended the text, however, its contact with vss 3 and 5 seems fairly secure.

5. **השיבני**—used usually with **דבר** as in Is 41:28, or **מלים**; cf. Jb 35:4, but also in Job 13:22; 20:2. G adds *πρὸς πάντα* which Du renders **אלה**. Ba adds **מלים**.

ערכה—an impv. form (see GK 48i), par. to **השיבני**; cf. 32:14,

5b. S *لطف* ; transpose **לפני** after **התיצבה**. Gr considers it used in a military sense as in 1 Sa 17:16. Ba understands **מלן** after **ערכה**.

כפך—cf. *ki-pi*, Aram. **כפום**—"in measure that"; cf. Ex 16:21 **אכלו כפי**—"in the measure of his eating"; so here, "in the measure of thee in regard to God".

קרץ—NH **קרץ**—"to pinch off" or "to nip"; cf. NHWB iv 388a used of a baker in cutting off pieces of dough. S *مزل*—"frost", Ass. *karasu*; cf. Ass. equivalent *karasu tita*, with the idea of pinching off clay to form man.

אח-אני—cf. the more poetic form 32:10, **אח-אני**.

7. **אכפי**—cf. root in Prov 16:26 **אכה** "to bow down"; hence—"my bowing down"—"a pressure"; cf. S *مضج* "my anxiety", T **טוני**—"my burden", G ἡ χεῖρ μου = **כה**, which Wr, Bu, Du, Ba, Str read. However, taken as an Aramaism **אכפי** is a good par. to **אימתי**. **אכפי** also has the advantage, in that it agrees in gender with the verb. In vs 9:34 **שנט** is par. to **אימה**. This may also be taken as an argument for the originality of **אכפי** here. **כפך** in 31:21 may well be an error.

8b. **וקול מלן**—cf. S *ملا* — **מלך** agrees better with **אמרת** (so Du, Bu, Bi, Be, Gr, Ba).

שמעתי—S *سمعت*, G ἀκήκοα; hence read **שמעתי** par. to **אמרת**.

9. **בלי**—used with a noun to form a synonym to the preceding adj.; cf. 24:10 **ערום הלכו בלי לבוש**.

אני—read **אני** m.c. It is also the commoner form in these speeches. These are supposed to be Job's words, but

they are not found so in his speech. Bildad refers to the same statement of Job in 8:6, **אם וך וישר אתה**. Job often asserted his integrity, but not before chap. 7. This seems to indicate that the book was not a unit, or, if by one hand, the plan was not well followed; cf. 10:7; 13:18; 23:10, 11; 27:5.

חף — root **חפף**, NH id, Syriac ܫܦ “to wash”, ܫܦ “to strip off hair”, hence perhaps **חוף** a “shore”, “something washed bare” is from the same root.

זך = **זכה** = **זכא** — S^h, A^h, Ass. *Zaku*; cf. vss 8:6; 16:17.

תנואות — root **הנא** — “to frustrate a purpose”, Ps 33:10; cf. Nu 14:34 “the estrangement of God from man”; hence “opposition” or “hostility”. Gr, Du, Bu, Wr, Str read **תואנת** — root **אנה**; cf. Jud 14:4. However, the change is unnecessary since the line gives a good sense as it is. “He findeth occasions of hostility” par. to “He counteth me as an enemy”.

10b. cf. 19:11 **ויהשבני לו כצרי**; 13:24 **ותשבני**.
לאויב

11. **ישם** — point **ישם**; cf. 13:27. Elihu usually begins Job's speeches with **הן**; hence insert m.c. This verse is taken verbatim from 10:12.

סד — NH id, Aram. **סדא**, S^h “wooden stocks”.

12. **זאת** — ditto. from **תנואות**; hence omit m.c.

אענך, **צדקת** — Gr omits **אענך** and retains **צדקת**, is possibly a variant of **לא אענה** in vs 13. G *πῶς γὰρ λέγεις Δίκαιός εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἑπακήκοέν μου*, which may be rendered **הנה אם אצעק לא אענה**. Du reads **אענך** — **כי**, and **אענה** may be pointed as Ni. without any violent change.

כי ירבה — counted by most as corrupt, G *αἰῶνος γὰρ* = **מעולם** — transpose **ו** and write **י** **מעלים**; cf. 9:16 **אם קראת ויענני לא אאמין כי יאזין קולי**, also 30:20; 23:3, 8, 9; 19:7. Ba reads (b) **היריב** and translates “Will God contend with mortal man”? or perhaps **כי יריב**; this fits in with vs 13 very well, “for God is striving with men”, reading **עם** for **מ**.

13. **דבריו**—Elihu is talking explicitly to Job, hence it would be far more natural to read **דברך**. Bi, Du, Str etc. read **דברי**; cf. G μου πᾶν ῥῆμα making **כי** introduce the direct narration. “Alle meine Worte beantwortet er nicht”. However, I take it that **כי** is a conjunction, and that **דבריו** is referring to Job as **ריבות**; hence read **דברך** (so Bu, Gr, Ba, etc.).

14. **בשתים באחת**—Eng. Vers. “once . . . twice”, V semel . . . secundo, G ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἅπαξ . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Σ ὅτι ἅπαξ . . . ἐκ δευτέρου. Gr remarks with Del that **באחת** can never mean “once”. To prove his point he quotes Ps 62:12 **שתים . . . אחת**, but gives no instances of **באחת** meaning “one way”. In Jer 10:8 **באחת** means “together”=“in one time” rather than “in one way”; cf. Prov 28:18; Nu 10:4, where the meaning is undoubtedly of time rather than method; also cf. **בשתים** 1 Sa 18:21 (so Dr). The various Greek versions also took it in this way.

ישורנה root **שור**—occurs several times in Job and in the Elihu Speeches 34:29; 35:5, 14, but the idea is impossible here. S reads **سور**, V repetit; hence Bu **ישנה** or **ישננה**. Gr objects to this because in the sequel God does speak more than once. But Gr’s rendering of “in one way” has the same difficulty, in that God does speak, according to Elihu, in more than one way. Ba reads **ישנה**—“For at one time El speaketh, and at a second it changeth not”; cf. Ps 89:35, Du **ישיבנה**, Peake **אם לא ישורנה**. Note, however, Σ ἐκ δευτέρου οὐ ἀκὴρῶσει αὐτόν = **יפרנה**—“He will not make it ineffectual”. Eliphaz uses this word in 5:12, in which he says that Jahweh maketh the devices of the wicked of no effect.

15. **חזיון**—S **حسونه**, V in visionen nocturna, G ἡ ἐν μελέτῃ νυκτερινῇ; hence read **בחזיון** (so Gr, Du).

בנפל תרדמה על אנשים—gloss from 4:13 (so Gr, Bi, Du, Be, Bu, Ba). The presence of **אנשים** in vs 16a also adds to the suspicion of the authenticity of this line.

Dreams as warners, cf. 7:14 **בחלומות** etc.

16. **ובמסרם יחתם**—root **חתם**—“to seal up” is very difficult here. Read therefore with G, S **יחתם**—“dismays

them"; cf. 7:14 (so Be, Bu, Du, Str). **מסרם**—Gr suggests **מסרם**—"their fetters", or **מוסרם**—"their discipline" or **מסרים**—"disciplines" or "admonishments", which are usually spoken to a man; Bu **מוסרו**, Ba **ובמסר אלהים** or **ובמראי מחתה**; cf. G *ἐν ἐδεσιν φόβου τοιούτοις* = **ובמראי מחתה** or as Du **במוראים**. The omission of the **ם** is also suggested by S **במסרם**, A **بمراذمهم** = **במרים**. The S and A therefore support G in the radicals their texts suggest. Hence read **ובמראי מחתה** omitted in M on account of confusion with **יחתם**, while the **ם** is retained in **מסרם**.

17. **מעשה**—G *ἀπὸ ἀδικίας* S **بمنكرهم**, A **من اعمالهم**, V **ab his quae facit**, T **מן עובדא בישא**. Du, Str follow G and read **מעולה**. However *ἀδικία* may be a free rendering, explaining the kind of work; note T **עובדא** modified by **בישא**. Read with S, A **ממעשהו**, **מ** was dropped because of confusion with **אדם**, and **ו** because of confusion with **וגוה** (so Gr, Bu).

גוה—"pride" 22:29, Jer 13:17.

יכסה—cannot be correct. Pride is not to be covered up, but to be plucked out. Hence with Di, Du, Be, Gr **יכסה**—"to cut away", root **כסה**; cf. Aram. **כסח**, A **كسح** "to cut off", found in the Kal pass. ptp. Is 33:12, Ps 80:17 used of the cutting away of thorns and vines; cf. G *ἐρρύσατο* "to pluck out". Dill suggests **יכלה**.

18. **להסיר** carries on vs 16 with the same force as **להסיר** of vs 17. Du suggests **לחשך** which would give the same meaning.

מני—poetic form of **מן**, occurring often in Job.

חיתו par. to **נפשו**—as often in the Elihu speeches.

מעבר בשלח—Du and Ba read here and in 36:12 **בשאוֹלָה**. This makes excellent sense, but the scribe would hardly make the same error twice in so short a time. **שלח**—In Joel 2:8; Neh 4:11, 17, the word is used for a hand missel. S of this verse reads **أحط** A **بالهلاله** (so in 36:12). In 26:6 **שאוֹלָה** is par. to **אברון**, and is a possibility here. However S invariably translates **שאוֹל** by **مهمل** and **שלח** by **أحط**, G reads *πολέμω*; hence we conclude that a different word from **שאוֹלָה** was used, but

one having a similar meaning. Here **שלה** is used as a par. to **שחת**, and must be a fig. expression for "destruction" (so Gr, Bu).

19. **והוכח**—waw consec. perf. used to describe a frequentative action (see GK 112e). Gr and Du make a distinct introduction to the verse and follow the G **πάλιν δὲ** = **גם יכח**, Ba **או הוכיחו**. However I would prefer to read the verb in the active voice and add the 3rd sing. masc. suff. **והוכחנו** (S, A read active).

משכבו—read **משכב**, 1—ditto. from **ורייב**; cf. V in lectulo, G **ἐπὶ κοίτης** (so Be); also vs 15.

ורייב—Du reads **ורב** (so Str with S) and then changes **אתן** to **אמר** with G **ἐνάρκησεν** "to grow stiff", and translates "Und alle seine Gebeine sind gelahmt". These emendations, however, are more ingenious than necessary. Read **וברייב** par. to **במכאוב**.

אתן—cf. Am 5:34 **נחל אירן**—a continually flowing stream. Here it is an adj. modifying **רייב**. With this idea cf. 30:17 **עצמי נקר מעלי וערקי לא ישכבון**.

20. **וזהמתו**—perf. waw consec. with frequentative force. Root **זהם**, only here in OT; cf. A **زهم** "to stink, be greasy", Aram. **זהם**, NH "be foul", Pi. "to make foul", so here (**חיתו**) "his appetite makes him to loathe"; cf. 5:15 **לנגוע נפשי המה כדוי לחמי**.

21. **יכל**—read **ויכל**—clause of result after vs 19.

מראי—Du **מרוי** "vor Abmagerung", Bu **מראי**—"verliert das Ansehn". S suggests **ממורא**, but this does not give a good par. to (b). Cf. Is 10:16 **במשמניו רוון**; this is also Gr's suggestion, and seems to be the best that can be done with it. Ba **מרעב**.

ושפי—keth. **ושפי**. Du omits **לא ראו** as a gloss on **מראי** and reads **ושפו**. Bu reads **ושפי** and emends **לא ראו** to **לא נאוו**. Gr is doubtful about the meaning of the verse and leaves a blank after "bone". Ba makes **ויבשו** and **בלא רוי** equal to **בלא ראי**. However, if we omit **לא** with V "et ossa, quae tecta fuerant, nudabuntur", we may be able to get some meaning from the verse. **שפה**—root **שפי**, used only in Ni. part. with **הר** to mean "a hill devoid of

springs and vegetation", hence "barrenness" or "poverty"; cf. A 𐤔, colloquial 𐤔𐤁𐤍 "a sand hill". His bones have no flesh on them, and the edges of them are quite visible. For the number of 𐤒𐤁 see GK 146a.

𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍—M has been a source of trouble to all translators, owing to the fact that lines have been lost. 𐤔𐤁𐤍𐤍 G 𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤍 Bu, Be, Du read 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍, Ba 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤍, but V reads mortiferis—a correct translation of 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍 "destroyers". This agrees with vs 23 as emended. To lengthen a short line 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍 may be read for 𐤍.

21. M marks a very sudden change, making it impossible to connect this verse with either 22 or 24.

𐤒𐤁𐤍—Bu takes it as a gloss on 𐤒𐤁𐤍, and omitting (b) after 𐤒𐤁𐤍 reads 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍. G reads quite differently, and from it we may restore the lost line and explain the many difficulties presented by M.

ἐὰν ὦσιν χίλιοι ἄγγελοι θανατηφόροι, εἰς αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ τρώσῃ αὐτόν
ἐὰν νοήσῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς κύριον,
ἀναγγείλῃ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μέμψιν,
τὴν δὲ ἄνοιαν αὐτοῦ δείξῃ.

𐤒𐤁𐤍—𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍 G 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤍—transpose 𐤒 from 𐤒𐤁𐤍. 𐤒𐤁𐤍—G οὐ μὴ τρώσῃ αὐτόν. 𐤒 has been transferred to 𐤒𐤁𐤍. 𐤍 is the remnant of 𐤒 and 𐤍 is evidently the remainder of a word which the G translated τρώσῃ αὐτόν, perhaps 𐤒𐤁𐤍.

23a. 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍—cf. G ἀναγγείλῃ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μέμψιν. Evidently 𐤒𐤁𐤍 was read 𐤒𐤁𐤍; cf. Du, Be. 𐤒𐤁𐤍, 𐤒 omitted because of confusion with 𐤒𐤁𐤍. This line, however, has no connection with 23b. G supplies a line omitted by M ἐὰν νοήσῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς κύριον—which may be a translation of 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍 or 𐤒𐤁𐤍 "If it be in his heart to return unto God, and to tell to man what he has learned."

25. 𐤒𐤁𐤍 𐤒𐤁𐤍—After the line, which we have recovered, became lost, the scribes found the line short, and the connection between vss 23 and 24 impossible. They therefore inserted these two prosaic words.

פרעהו—root unknown. Wr, Hfm, Bu, Du read **פרעהו**, Di, Bi **פרהו**; Ba **אפרהו**. **פרע**—S Pa. “to split”, “to cleave”, A **فرد**, “to compare”, hence read root **פרע**—Aram. **פרע**, S **فرد**, A **فرد**, Ass. *paru* “to break open”, and so in Hebrew, “to exempt”, “free from”. Read **יפרעהו**, an impf. in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, whose protasis is in the previous verse.

ימצאתי—read **ימצא** par. to **יפרעהו**.

רטפש—cf. vs 25. Du suggests that it is the result of the confusion of the last word of 24 and the first in 25. Possibly the last word of 24 was **נפשו**. This fills out the line and gives us a good parallelism.

25. **רטפש**—transpose **ר**, and read **טרפש**—cf. S **ترفش** “emaciated”, which is opposite to the meaning desired here. In Ass. *ritpasu*—“broad”, the (t) is **ת** and not **ט**, and is from the root **רפש**; hence the word is probably an error for **יטפש**—root **טפש** “to be fat” “plump”, then metaphorically as in Ps 119:70 “to be stupid”; cf. Ass. *tapasu*; opposite to emaciated—“fresh”.

ישוב—Bi, Du, Be, Ba take it as a jussive, and to contain the speech of the angel. Gr. denies the probability. Cf. 22:23; 2 Kgs 5:14. As I have read the previous verses, it must be taken as an impf. following vss 23 and 24.

26. **וירצהו**—has for its subj. “God”; **יעתר**—has “the sufferer”. **וירצהו** however does not interrupt the sense that **וירא** refers to the sufferer again.

(26a)—cf. Eliphaz’s question to Job 5:1, also 9:14, 8:6. **וירא פניו**—Bu **ויראהו** “and He let Himself be seen”, having God for the subj. But it must be remembered that God’s personal presence was a terrible thing to Elihu, and he could scarcely have implied that. Note 37:19, 20; cf. S **וירא פניו**; hence point **וירא** as Ni., and read **לפניו** “and he appears before Him”. G implies **ויבא**, which gives about the same meaning.

תרועה—Du points out that this is the word used for music in the temple service. Job, therefore, being once more clean, and acceptable to God, comes to the temple, and joins in the temple music. Cf. G *συν ἑξήγορία*, Σ ἐν

ὑμνολογία. Contrast this with Job's experience in 9:3, 16; 21:22.

וישב—Bu וישב, Ba ושלם, Du much better ויספר or ויבשר. This would only presuppose the dropping of the ו and the transposition of ש and ב.

ישר—"he looks". But pointing it with Gr, Du and Bu ישר gives an excellent par. to בשר.

The two prepositions are difficult, but in the later period of the language על does take on the meaning of אל at times; cf. 21:31 פניו על, also Prov 25:20 ושר בשרים על לב רע.

27bc. (b) Bu ואל לא שוה לי, G καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἤτασέν με ὦν ἡμαρτον. Hence point as Pi. שוה, and add כעוני with G (so Gr, Du). שוה is used in this sense in the Hiph. in Lam 2:13. Ba obtains about the same meaning with ולא שלם פערי לי.

28. חיתי.....נפשי read keth. (so S).

מעבר בשחת—is peculiar, but possibly Elihuian. Bu reads מעבר בשלח, Ba omits מעבר which is an improvement. It was possibly inserted from vs 18. Cf. Eliphaz 5:20 ברעב פרך ממות ובמלחמה מירי חרב.

29. Cf. Is 17:6 שנים שלשה, "three times" would have been פעמים שלש; שלש פעמים—is elliptical, "two or three times"; cf. vs 14.

30. לאור = להאור, elision in Hiph. is more frequent; hence Du reads לאיר, cf. S هسلأ. A لسي, V illuminet luce viventum = לאיר (so G). Ba להראותו—"let him look", I prefer to read with S, A לראות (so Gr, Bu).

31. הקשב—only here and in 13:6 in Job. (b) Cf. 13:13.

32. הפצתי — a new note for Job's critics, and quite in accord with Elihu's true attitude toward Job. Elihu looks upon the afflictions of Job in the light of discipline rather than as punishment.

33. אם אין (Gr) cf. Gn 30:1. Bu omits as a gloss on vs 31. Vss 31-33 are placed by Du after vs 34:15. He argues that these lines were meant to begin an oration especially meant for Job. And since vss 34;1-15 seem to be addressed

to more than one, these vss should come after vs 15. However, I consider they meant rather to complete an oration, and hence they are in their proper place at the end of chapter 33.

CHAPTER XXXIV, 1-15

AN ORATION ADDRESSED TO THE WISE

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. ויען אליהוא ויאמר. | 2. שמעו חכמים מלי |
| 3. וידעים האזינו לי. | 4. פי-און מלים תבחן |
| 5. וחד יטעם לאכל. | 6. משפט נבחרה-לנו |
| 7. נדעה בינינו מה-טוב. | 8. פי אמר איוב צדקתי |
| 9. ואל הסיר משפטי. | 10. על משפטי אפוב |
| 11. אנוש חצי בלי-פשע. | 12. מי גבר יארח כאיוב |
| 13. ישתה-לעג פמיה. | 14. לחברה עם-פעלי און |
| 15. וללכת עם-אנשי רשע. | 16. פי אמר לא יספן-גבר |
| 17. ברצתו עם-אלהים. | 18. לכן אנשי-לבב שמעו-לי |
| 19. והאזינו לכל-מלי. | 20. כפעל אדם ישלם-לו |
| 21. כארח איש ומצאנו. | 22. אף-אמנם אל לא ירשיע |
| 23. ושדי לא יעות משפט. | 24. מי-פקד עליו ארצה |
| 25. ומי שם תבל כלה. | 26. אם ישיב אליו רוחו |
| 27. ונשמתו אליו יאסף. | 28. יגוע כל-בשר יחד |
| 29. ואדם על-עפר ישוב. | |

2. שמעו—addressed to either the three friends or to wise men in general.

3. לאכל—cf. 12:11 אכל לו, S *أكل*, V *guttur escas gustu dijudicat*, A *الطعام*, G *βρωσκω* = לאכל, Bu and Gr read אכל לו. However, the evidence is strong for לאכל, לו introducing the direct object (see GK 117a).

4. **בינינו**—among us, as in Hos 13:15.

נבחרה לנו—cf. Jos 24:15 **בחרו לכם משפט** par. to **מה טוב**.

5. (a) cf. 12:19. (b) cf. 27:2; 12:20; 19:9.

6. **על**—"in spite of" (see BDB, p. 754f).

אכזב—Ba **עלי שפטי יכזב**, Du **אכזב**, and translates "trotz meines Rechtes werde ich getaucht". Bu also uses Ni. but referring to Prov 30:6, translates "trotz meines Rechtes soll ich lügen". Gr follows Ehr and emends **אכזב**; cf. G *ἔψευσται*, Aq, θ *ψεύσμα*; hence the radicals **כזב** were read. G points to a Ni. = "I am held to be a liar", i.e. "I am misjudged". The fact that Job was misjudged was what aggravated his wounds.

חצי—my arrows, cf. 6:4 **כי חצי שרי עמדי** where it is used to indicate "pains" or "plagues" as in Ps 38:3; Ez 5:18. Du reads **מחצי**—"my wound", however since **חצי** is used for a similar idea in Job, Elihu may well have used it here in imitation of Job's language (so Gr). **אנוש**—Jer 15:8; 39:12 root **אנש**—Ass. "to be weak", hence "incurable".

7. The line is short. Ba lengthens it by adding **ואולם**, however vs 8 is too long. It is quite possible that **וארח** has dropped from vs 7a, where it read **יֵאֲרַח**. This completes the line, and eliminates the difficulty in 8a.

ישתה—is then a complementary verb in the impf. subordinate to **יֵאֲרַח** (GK 120c). "Who is a man that goes about like Job, drinking up scorning like water"? cf. 19:3; 24:14, also 15:61 **איש שתה כמים עולה**.

8. **לחברה**—V omits "qui graditur cum operantibus iniquitatem", but a word is necessary here as par. to **ללכת**. It is a peculiar form of the infinitive; cf. Lv 5:26 **לאשמה**—"to be guilty", 20:16 **לרבעה**—"to lie down". **לחברה** and **ללכת** follow **ישתה** "he drinks up scorning like water, joining himself to and going with"; cf. 11:11.

22:15 **הארח עולם תשמור אשר דרכו מתי און**.

9. **יסכן**—cf. 15:3; 22:2.

רצה-עם—Ps 50:18; cf Job's statement in 9:24, 22; 21:17; 24:24; 21:1, Σ *σωθησεται* = **יושע**, M better.

10. (a) line is too short, hence Du, Bu, Ba insert **לכן חכמים האוֹינוּ** after **לכן**.

אנשי לבב—the heart was the seat of wisdom, having the same significance as **חכמים** or **ידעים** in vs 2, or **חכם לבב** in vs 9:4. Elihu usually makes **און** par. to **שמע**; cf. 31:1; 34:2, 16. Hence we might expect **כל דברי** or **לְקוֹל מִלִּי** or **הַאֲזִינָה לְכֹל מִלִּי**.

חֲלִילָה לֹאֵל מִרְשָׁע וּלְשֹׁדֵי מַעוֹל (מַפְעוֹל עוֹל)

חֲלִילָה—usually takes **מִן** with the inf., here only a matter of punctuation; hence read **מִרְשָׁע**; cf. **יִחְבֹּחַ**, G ἀσεβήσαι.

מַעוֹל—S **يُحِبُّ** = **מַעוֹל** (so Du, Gr), or better with Ba **וּלְשֹׁדֵי מַעוֹת צָדֵק**, G **παράξει τὸ δίκαιον** presupposes **מַפְעוֹל עוֹל**.

וּלְשֹׁדֵי—read **וּלְשֹׁדֵי**; cf. G **καὶ ἐναντὶ παντοκράτορος**. The close resemblance of this line with vs 12, and the rendering of G seems to indicate that this verse is a gloss on vs 9 with language taken from vs 12; hence omit.

11. **כִּי פַעַל**—cf. S **يُحِبُّ**, G **καθὰ ποιεί**, also the par. in

(b) **וכֹּאֲרָח**, hence read **כַּפְעַל**.

יִמְצֵאנוּ—Hiph. used “to befall” or “to overtake”; cf. Dt 31:17.

12. **אֵה-אֲמַנֵם**—emphatic.

יִרְשָׁע—Hiph. used in the later stage of the language to mean “to do wickedly”, and quite possible here. Cf. Neh 9:33; Dan 9:5; 12:10. Du, Bu, Be read the Kal. Cf. the vs with 8:3.

13. **פָּקַד עָלָיו**—“entrusted to him”; cf. Nu 4:27.

עָלָיו must also be understood after **שֵׁם**.

אֲרֵצָה—read **אֲרֵצָה** (so Bi, Du, Gr, Str, Ba).

שֵׁם—Bu reads **שָׁמַר**. Ba reads **שָׁמוּ עָלָיָהּ**—“Who set him over the whole world”.

14. **לָבוּ** was inserted to explain **רוּחוֹ**. G omits **רוּחוֹ** and reads **לָבוּ** with **יָשִׁים**.

אֵם יָשִׁים—S **يُحِبُّ**, A **يُحِبُّ**, hence read **יָשִׁים** as par. to **יָאֵסָה** (so Gr, Bu, Bi, Be, Ba).

אֵלָיו—naturally refers to God. Cf. Ps 104:29, Is 42:5, Ecc 12:7.

15. A continuation of vs 14. Man is dust plus the רוח and the נשמה of the Divine Being; cf. Gn 2:7.

From vs 16 Elihu is speaking more especially to Job. The second person sing. is used both of the verb forms and of the pronouns.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 16. | ואם בִּינַת שְׁמֵעָה-זֹאת | הַאִינָה לְקוֹל מְלִי. |
| 17. | הֵאֵה שֹׁנֵא מִשְׁפֹּט יִחְבֹּשׁ | וְאִם צָדִיק כְּבִיר יִרְשִׁיעַ. |
| 18. | הָאָמַר לְמַלֵּךְ בְּלִיעַל | רָשָׁע מֵאֵד אֶל-נְדִיבִים. |
| 19. | אֲשֶׁר לֹא-נִשָּׂא פָנָי שָׂרִים | וְלֹא נִפְרָשׁוּעַ לְפָנֵי-דָל. |
| 21. | פִּי-עֵינָיו עַל-דַּרְכֵי אִישׁ | וְכָל-צַעֲדָיו יִרְאֶה. |
| 22. | אִין-חֶשֶׁךְ וְאִין צִלְמוֹת | לְחֹסֶתֶר שֵׁם פַּעֲלֵי אוֹן. |
| 23. | כִּי לֹא עַל-אִישׁ מוֹעֵד | לְהִלֹּךְ אֶל-אֵל בְּמִשְׁפָּט. |
| 24. | יִרְעַ כְּבִירִים לֹא-חֶקֶר | וַיַּעֲמֵד אַחֲרֵים תַּחְתָּם. |
| 26. | וַיִּדְבְּרוּ תַּחַת-דְּרָשָׁי מַעֲבִדֵּיהֶם סָפוּ בְּמִקּוֹם מִרְעִים. | |
| 27. | עַל-אֲשֶׁר סָרוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו | וְכָל-דַּרְכָּיו לֹא הִשְׁפִּילוּ. |
| 28. | לְהִבִּיא עֲלָיו צַעֲקַת-דָּל | וְצוֹחַת עֲנִיִּים יִשְׁמַע. |
| 29. | וְהוּא יִשְׁקוֹט וּמִי יִרְשִׁיעַ | וַיִּסְתַּר פָּנָיו וּמִי יִסְתָּר. |
| 30. | וְעַל גּוֹי וְעַל-אָדָם יַחַד | מִמַּלְךְ מִיִּקְשֵׁי עַם. |
| 31. | כִּי אֶל-אֱלֹהִים אָמַר | נִשְׁאַתִּי לֹא אֲחַבֵּל עוֹד. |
| 33. | הַמַּעֲמֵךְ יִשְׁלָם (אֱלֹהִים) | אִם-עוֹל פַּעֲלָתִי לֹא אִסִּיתִי. |
| 33. | הַמַּעֲמֵךְ יִשְׁלָם (אֱלֹהִים) | כִּי מֵאִסֵּת (מִשְׁפָּטוֹ). |
| 34. | כִּי-אֵתָה תִּבְחַר וְלֹא-אֲנִי | וּמִה-יִדְעַת דְּבַר. |
| 35. | אֲנִשִּׁי-לִבִּי יֹאמְרוּ לִי | וְגִבֹּר חֲכָם שָׁמַע לִי. |
| 35. | אִיּוֹב לֹא-בִרְעַת יִדְבַר | וּדְבָרָיו לֹא בַּהֲשִׁכִּיל. |
| 36. | אֲבָל יִבְחֹן עַד נִצַּח | עַל תִּשְׁבַּת כְּאֲנִשִּׁי-אוֹן. |
| 37. | כִּי בִינֵינוּ יִסְפֹּק כְּפִיו | וַיִּרְבֶּה אֲמָרָיו לֹאֵל. |

16. **ואם בינה**—impv. with **אם** has no parallel. S **ألم**, T **תתבין**, V *si habes ergo intellectum*, G *νουθετη*, Aq *εἰ μὴ συνιεις*; hence read **בִּינָה** (so Gr, Bu). Du and Di read **בִּינָה**—"understanding".

קול מלים אשמע—cf. M 33:8 **לִקוֹל מַלְאָכָיו**.

17. **האף**—cf. Am 2:11. It carries the idea of incredulity.

חבש—"to bind" (a turban); cf. Ex 29:9—"to enclose", A **حس**—"to hem in" or "enclose", Ass. *absanu*—"a yoke". Hence we may obtain the idea of government from either "to bind"—bind up a ruined state, or from "yoke"—to hold the people in subjection.

תרשע—S **تفسد**, T **יחִיב**; hence **יריע**—"to do evil", taking **צדיק כביר** as the subj. Ba reads **צדק** as par. to **משפט**—"Or condemnest thou the justice of the mighty one"?

18. **האמר**—S **يأمر**, G *ὁ λέγων* (so Gr, Ew, Di, Bu, Ba). **ה** indicates a close connection with vs 17.

בלעל—"without" **יעל**—"use" (Gesenius).

רשע—G *ἀσεβέστατε* = **רשע מאד**. This improves the length of the line. Ba reads **רשע לנדיב עם**; cf. Nu 21:18. Another suggestion is: **רשע** is a displaced gloss on **בלעל**. He would then read **השופך בוז על**—"Who poureth out contempt upon nobles".

19. **נשא פני**—cf. 13:8, 10; 32:21.

נכר—only here as Pi. Du proposes **הכיר**.

שוע—Ba reads **עשיר** as a par. to **ל**.

19c, 20. **פי מעשה ידיו כלם**. **רגע ימתו וחצות לילה**. **יגעשו שועים ויעברו** **ויסורו אבירים לא ביד**

19c.—is not in G and is likely a pious insertion. Cf. 10:3; 14:15; 31:15.

20. **הצות לילה**—standing in the same line with **רגע** is peculiar.

שועים—**שועים** dropped out through confusion with **יגעשו**. Du reads **מעם**.

יסורו—G *ἐρχήσαντο*. Bu, Gr read **יִסְרָו**.

אבירים—1 MSS. This is better; cf. verb.

לא ביד—cf. Dn 2:34—"without human hands", i.e. "by Divine power". Ba takes (c) as a possible gloss from Lam 4:6cd. These three lines all seem to be a gloss

explaining the fate of שוע in vs 19b. G seems to have read אביונים for אבירים, this would indicate a gloss on דל vs 19b. Moreover, it interrupts the sense between 19b and 21, which should be read together.

21. Cf. 14:16; 31:4 **הלא הוא יראה דרכי וכל צעדי יספור**.

22. G omits **צלמות**, otherwise versions agree. Cf. 26:6.

23. (a) Delitzsch takes **שים** in a military sense, "to beset" as in 1 Kgs 20:12 **העיר על השימו וישימו על העיר**. This is no par. to (b). Gr, Wr, Bu, Be, Str read **יש מועד**, Du **יש מועד**. However, the **יש** may have been repeated by ditto. from **איש**, and its omission is metrically an advantage.

להלך אל-אל במשפט—seems unusual. Ba reads **אל**. However, the use of the prep. **אל** after **הלך** is quite common, and although the idea of entering into judgment is unusual with **הלך**, still it may be original.

24. **ירע**—Aram. for **ירץ**, root **רעע**; cf. Ps 2:9.

כבירים—root **כבר** "to be much", "many", Ass. *kabaru* "be great", "mighty", A **כר**, "be great", **כר** "great", "noble". It only occurs in the book of Job.

לא חקר—a circumstantial clause introduced by **לא** with the idea, "without need of inquiry" (so Bu "ohne Untersuchung").

25. **לפן יפיר מעבדיהם והפך לילה**

מעבדיהם—an Aramaism, it only occurs here in Heb. Cf. **מעבד** Dn 4.

34. Ehr assumes haplography and reads **יכרם מעבדיהם**.

לילה—acc. of time. (a) seems to be a variant of 21a, (b) of 10a. Du claims the line all a variant of 20 and 21. S seems to read "works" with vs 26. Ba retains the verse and reads **הפכם**.

Read with Du **וידכאו** with vs 26 (so S).

26. Gr recognizes the difficulty of (a) without including **וידכאו**. Be reads **ידכאו מתחתם רשעים**—"the wicked are crushed from their place". Du reads **רשעים** for **רסיסים**. Bu and Bi read **תחת** for **תחת**. Cf. S **تحت انام اعمالهم**, A **تحت انام اعمالهم**;

hence read **רשעים** or **רשעי מעבדיהם**. Ba reads **יבחת רשעים שאול** and **וסחפם במקום רפזים** before vs 25.

ספקם—is difficult. It is usually used of clapping hands, and only here of slapping another person. Even with that meaning it makes a poor par. to **דבא**; hence I suppose that **ספקם** is the result of ditto. from **במקום**. Read therefore **ספו**.

ראים—is another difficulty. S reads **מורא**—"fear". "The place of fear" is as strange as M. The **א** may have been written in error for **ע**. This gives us a much better par. to (a). For **במקום מרעים**—cf. Is 31:2 **בית מ'**, Ps 22:17 **עדת מ'**, Ps 26:5 **קהל מ'**, Ps 64:3 **סוד מ'**.

27. **על-כן-אשר-על-כן** and **אשר** may be variants, but **כן** was likely inserted after the other two words became transposed. Therefore read **על-אשר**—"on account of the fact that".

Vs 28 is closely related to this verse. Because of their inattention (vs 27) the action in (vs 28) results. Bu omits. Ba considers it a probable gloss.

28. **על-אליו = עליו** often took on the meaning of **אל** in later times; an Aramaising tendency (cf. 21:31).

צעקת צעקת—**צַעֲקָה**, two words. For the second Du suggests **צוּחַת** or **שׁוּעַת**. **ישמע** is used par. to **להביא**

לל root **ללל**—"to be wasted"; hence "poor".

29. Both lines are conditionals without the particle.

ישקט—S reads a part. form; read **יִשְׁקַט**

ירשע—Ehr reads **יִישַׁע**—"who can be saved". Ba **ירעשנו**—"who will rouse him".

ישורנו—gives an impossible meaning here, besides it is not a good par. to **ירשע**; the radicals of **יסר** may have been mistaken by the scribe for those of **ישר** (so Bu).

30. Gr considers the line dubious, and does not attempt a translation. Bu considers 29c a gloss on 29ab, and reads vs 30—**ממלך אדם חנה מושל ממשקשי עם**—"Wenn er zum könig macht eine ruchtlosen Menschen, einen Hurscheraus dem Fallstricken des Volks". Du emends **יחד** to **יער** and treats **אדם חנה** as a gloss on **אדם**, and translates "Doch

uber Volk und Menschen wacht er, das nicht herrsche einer von Fallstricken des Volks”.

יָהָד—may have the meaning “alike” as in 21:26. In that case the line must be considered a gloss on מִי of vs 29. On the other hand it may be from the root חָדַד “to be sharp”, “keen”—i.e. Jahweh is watchful, or zealous in his guarding the people from unjust rulers. Cf. the usage of this word in Hb 1:8, in speaking of the agility of the horses of the Chaldaeans וְחָדְרוּ מִזֹּאבֵי עָרֶב—“they are keener than the wolves of the evening”.

יִקְשֵׁי אָדָם חֲנָף—Gloss to explain יִקְשֵׁי.

מִמֶּקֶשׁ—perhaps מִיִּקְשֵׁי, or מִיִּקְשֵׁי—*is nearer to the M.*
מִן—partitive.

מִמֶּלֶךְ—מִן contains the negative idea—“from ruling”.

31. אֵל-אֵל emphatic, because of its position.

הָאֱמֹר—*inter.* with the perf. G ὁ λεγων; hence Du האמר, S *אמר*, V ego locutus sum. Read with S אֱמֹר (so Ba), or אֵל האמר and read אֱמֹר—the inf. const. with the gerundive force, “dicendum est”—“ought one to say unto God”? (GK 114h).

לֹא אֶחָבֵל—G οὐκ ἐνεχυράσω—“to take a pledge”; hence G evidently thought there was here some reference to the taking of pledges in return for loans. Cf. Job’s last speech 29:31. Or Elihu may be referring to Job’s statement in 13:13, “and let come on me what will”. In this case חָבַל takes on the secondary meaning of “act ruinously” and in the Pu. (cf. 17:1) “be broken”. Hence we may read, “I have borne punishment, I am not yet broken”. Bu reads the Kal of this root and translates “Will mich nicht versundigen”. Du, “Will mich nicht verderbt handeln”. Better consider that Elihu is referring to Job’s oft repeated claim of innocence. I would then take לֹא אֶחָבֵל as a circumstantial clause, and translate with Gr “without offending”.

בְּלַעֲדִי (32) Vs 31 requires another beat to make a normal line, while vs 32 is too long; בְּלַ is a ditto. from אֶחָבֵל, and from עָדִי we get עוֹד. This word has the significance of “yet” here.

32. **אָחוּזָה אַתָּה**—S **أخوذك**, V Si erravi; read **וְאַם חִמַּמְתִּי**. Ba reads **אִם אֶחְמָא**, or substitutes **הָאֶרֶץ** for **אָחוּזָה**—"the way do thou teach me".

וְאַם—introduces an alternative to vs 31. "But rather, if I have".

33. **יִשְׁלַמְנָה**—read **יִשְׁלַם**, and to fill out the line add with Ba **אֱלֹוֶה**. (b) Du reads **אַתָּה** of (c) after **מֵאִמֶּת**, and reads it **תְּאוֹתוֹ**. Gr does not attempt a translation of (b). Be suggests **מִשְׁפָּטוֹ**. Ba **כִּי אַתָּה**, and some such word seems to have dropped out.

(c) **כִּי אַתָּה**—emphatic in contrast to **וְלֹא אֲנִי**. Elihu wishes to impress Job that the decision of repentance is his own responsibility.

34. **אֲנָשִׁי-לֵבָב**—cf. vs 10. **חֲכָם לֵב** 9:4; here it is par. to **גִּבֹּר חֲכָם**.

יֹאמְרוּ—Ba reads **יֹאזִינוּ**, as a par. to **יִשְׁמַע** which he reads for **שָׁמַע**.

35. **לֹא בִדְעַת**—cf. Is 5:13 **מִבְּלִי דַעַת**, Dt 4:42 **דַּעַת**. **בִּבְלִי דַעַת**—used as a par. to **לֹא בִדְעַת**. It is the inf. abs. Hiph. of **שָׁכַל**—cf. Jer 3:15; Prov 1:3; 21:16, only here with the neg.

36. **אֲבִי**—only here. Bu omits as ditto from **אִיּוֹב**. Ba very plausibly reads **אֶבְחֵן**, G **οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ**, S **ألا** "of a truth". Hence read **אֶבְלִי**. Du considers it a particle used to introduce a wish. Gr follows suit, and compares it with the A **آتي**, "to come in as a suppliant" or "to entreat".

אִיּוֹב—the line is too long; this word appearing here, so close to where it is used in vs 35, is suspicious, and I would therefore omit it.

(b) S **ولا يصح**; hence Grätz **וְאַל יִתְחַשֵּׁב**, "and let him not be reckoned among men of iniquity," "This would go well with Du's suggestion in which he follows G **μαθε**.

כְּאֲנָשִׁי—G **ὡσπερ**.

37. **כִּי יוֹסִיף עַל חַטָּאתָו פֶּשַׁע**—this line has been used by critics to rank Elihu with the three friends in condemning Job as a very wicked man. Elihu repeatedly states that Job has used foolish words, even words such as the wicked

use, but he does not accuse Job of being overly wicked; hence this line is quite opposed to the regular tenor of ideas. I would therefore consider it a gloss inserted from Is 30:1. Ba omits (a) and reads **על שדי יספוק כפים**. However, this is scarcely more probable than the M. It is more probable that Elihu is referring to his friends and himself; hence retain **כינינו** and add **כפים** or **כפיו**.

כפיו or **כפים** (so Du, Bu, Gr).

CHAPTER XXXV

1. **ויען אליהוא ויאמר.**
2. **הואות חשבת למשפט.** אמרת צדקתי מאל.
3. **פי-תאמר מה-יספן-לי** מה-אעיל מחטאתי.
4. **אני אשיבך מלים** ואת-שלשת רעיד עמד.
5. **הביט שמים וראה** ושור שחקים גבהו ממך.
6. **אם חטאת מה-תפעל-בו** ורבו פשעיד מה-תעשה-לו.
7. **אם צדקת מה-תתן-לו** או מה-מידיד יקח.
8. **לאיש כמודך רשעך** ולבן-אדם צדקתך.
9. **מרוב עשוקים יזעיקו** ישועו מזרוע כבירים.
10. **לא-אמרו איה אלוה עשינו** נתן זמרות בלילה.
11. **מאלפנו מבהמות ארץ** ומעוף השמים יחפמנו.
12. **שם יצעקו ולא יענה** מפני גאון רעים.
13. **אך-שוא לא-ישמע אל** ושדי לא ישורנו.
14. **אף פי-תאמר לא יושיעני** דום לפניו והתחולל לו.
15. **ועתה פי-אין פקד אפו** ולא ידע לפשע מאד.
16. **ואויב הבל יפצה-פיהו** בבלי-דעת מלים יכביר.

1. אליהו—see vs 32:4 (so Ba).

2. צדקי—"my righteousness before God" (so Du, Bu).
Ba **אל** עם אל, S **אלי**, T **דכיית**, V **Justior sum Deo**, G **δικαίως**. Hence read **צדקתי**.

3. כי—follows הוואות of vs 2—"because".

ךָ—read לִי (so Du, Ba). Gr thinks that direct narration does not begin until (b). Cf. (b) with 21:15 מִה נֵעִיר. מחטאים—Ba reads "more than sinners".

4. שׁוֹב מִלִּים—for the more usual prose שׁוֹב דְּבַר cf. Is 14:28; Ps 18:23. This follows the S closely; cf. اَلْحَيُّ عَلٰى, T אתִּיבִנְךָ מִלִּיא. Ba omits the verse.

את־דָּרְעִיךָ—G Τοῖς τρισιὺν φίλοις σου (so Ba). את is peculiar for Elihu, but nothing can be suggested unless we simply omit. Elihu considered the friends were wrong in claiming that Job must have sinned greatly. His contention is that Job's affliction is rather a course of instruction than a punishment. To Elihu, Job's sole wrong was in speaking rashly against God because of his seemingly unjust afflictions.

5. שְׁחָקִים—most frequent in Elihu's speeches, only occurring otherwise in 38:37. It is used as a par. to שְׁמִים. Cf. 36:28; 37:21.

6. תַּפְעַל—is the usual pointing of the word. תַּפְעַל—pre-supposes a form תַּפְעוּל.

בו—V ei= לוֹ, בו however is stronger. For this use of ב see GK 119n.

7. Cf. 22:3, תַּחֲפֹץ לְשָׂרִי כִי תִצְדַּק אִם בָּצַע פִּי תָתֵם, דִּרְכֶיךָ

8. V "Homini qui similis tui est, nocebit impietas tua; et filium hominis is adjuvabit justitia tua"; hence EVV.

8-9. Between 8 and 9 there is a serious breach. Du and Be insert vs 16 here. However, that verse seems to follow verse 15 much better than vs 8. We must conclude that a line or lines have been lost. Gr's attempt to explain away the deficiency is unconvincing.

9. עֲשׂוּקִים—S عَشْوَكٌ, T טַלְמוֹן, V calumniatorum. Read עֲשׂוּקִים (so Be).

רַבִּים—usually means "many"; cf. V tyrannorum, T דּוֹרְבָנִיא—"princes". Read כְּבִירִים par. to עֲשׂוּקִים (so Be).

10. אָמַר—S اَمَرَ, A بِغَوَارٍ; read אָמְרוּ; cf. vs 9 (so Bu, Str, Ba). עָשִׂי—the plu. suff. is very doubtful. (See GK 114k). עֲשִׂינוּ = عَاشِرُ S

זמרות—a blessing sung about by the Hebrews. Cf. Ps 42:8; 149:5.

11. מלפנו—for מאלפנו; cf. ملح for ملح, G διορίζων με which Klo follows by rendering מלפנו—"who distinguishes from", Σ διδασκων.

12. שם—Bu compares with A ܫܡ, and translates, "da schreit man denn", but this is an unusual force for שם which has a corresponding A ܫܡ. Ba inserts הם after שם, reads יענו for יענה, and translates, "There they cry unanswered, because of the pride of the wicked".

י follows יענה and יצעקו ends the verse, but for metrical reasons it must be retained as it is. For an example of a verb with another subject coming in the centre of a verse cf. 33:26.

13. ישורנה—שוא is masc., hence read a masc. suff. (so Gr). Bu reads שועת שוא, while Du שפת שוא.

14. אה כי—cf. Ez 15:5; Prov 21:27—"how much less". תשורנו—is suspicious; cf. line above. G και σώσειμε= יושיעני. This gives a very good sense, and does away with a jarring repetition.

לפניו ותחולל לו—Po'l, may mean "to wait" as does Hith. or Kal. However, cf. Ps 37:7 whence this passage probably came; therefore read as above.

15. אין פקר—is impossible Hebrew. S لم ; read אין פקר (so Bu, Be). Ba thinks that אפו may be a gloss, because of the length of the line.

בפש—S بفس, T לאפשי, V scelus, G παράτιτωμά; hence read בפשע (so Du, Gr, Ba), or with T לפשע; cf. Ps 69:6 ידעת לאולתי.

ידע—Ba reads ידע—"nor hurteth he the evil greatly".

16. יכבר = יכפר—a favored accusation against Job; cf. 8:2; 9:2.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. ויסף אליהוא ויאמר.
2. פֶּתֶר-לִי זַעִיר וְאַחֲרָךְ
3. אִשָּׁא דַעִי לְמֶרְחָק
4. כִּי-אֲמַנָם לֹא-שָׁקַד מִלִּי
5. הֵן-אֵל לֹא יִמָּאֵס תַּמִּים
- משפּט עֲנִיִּים יִתֵּן
- אִם-מַלְכִּים לִפְסָא
8. וְאִם-אֲסוּרִים בּוֹזְקִים
9. וַיִּגַּד לָהֶם פַּעַלָם
10. וַיִּגַּל אֲזָנָם לְמוֹסֵר
11. אִם יִשְׁמְעוּ עֲלֵיו וַיַּעֲבְרוּ
12. וְאִם לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיַּעֲבְרוּ
13. וְחִנְפֵי-לֵב יִשְׁמוּ וְלֹא יִשְׁוּעוּ
14. תַּמּוּת בְּנֶעֱר נִפְשָׁם
15. יִחַלֵּץ עֲנִי בַעֲנִי
16. וְאִם הַסִּירֶךְ מִפִּי צַר
17. וְשִׁלַּחֲנֶךָ מִלֵּא דִשָּׁן
18. כִּי חֲמָה פֶּן-יִסִּיתֶךָ בְּשַׁפֵּק
19. הִיעֲרַךְ יִשְׁעֶךָ לֹא בִצֹר
20. אֶל-תִּשְׁאָף נַחַת הַלֵּילָה
21. הַשְׁמַר אֶל-תִּפְּנֵי אֶל-אֹן
22. הֵן-אֵל יִשְׁגִּיב בִּכְחוֹ
23. מִי פֶקֶד עַל דְּרָכּוֹ
24. זָכַר כִּי תִשְׁגִּיא פַעֲלוֹ
- כִּי-עוֹד לִי לֹא-לֹוֹה מִלִּים.
- וְלִפְעָלִי אֶתֶּן-צַדִּיק.
- תַּמִּים דַּעוֹת עִמָּךְ.
6. כִּבְדִּיר לֹא יַחִיה רָשָׁע.
7. וְלֹא יִגְדַע מִצְדִּיקִים עֵינָיו.
- יִשִּׁיבָם לְנֹצָח וַיִּגְבְּהוּ.
- וַיִּלְכְּדוּן בַּחֲבַל־עֲנִי.
- וּפִשְׁעֵיהֶם כִּי יִתְגַּבְּרוּ.
- וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי-יִשׁוּבוּן מֵאוֹן.
- יִכְלֹו יִמֵּיהֶם בְּטוֹב.
- וַיִּגּוּעוּ בַבַּלִּי דַעַת.
- אִם לֹא יִשְׁוּעוּ כִּי אֲסָרָם.
- וְחִיתָם בְּקֶדְשִׁים.
- וַיִּגַּל בְּלֶחֶץ אֲזָנּוֹ.
- רָחַב לֹא-מוֹצֵק תַּחֲתֶיךָ.
- דִּין וּמִשְׁפָּט תִּמְכּוֹךְ.
- וּדְבַר-כֶּפֶר אֶל-יִמְךָ.
- וְלֹא בְכָל-מֵאמְצִי-כַחַת.
- לְעֵלּוֹת עֲמִים תַּחֲתָם.
- כִּי עַל-זֶה בִּחְרָתָ בְּעֲנִי.
- מִי כְמוֹהוּ מוֹדָה.
- וּמִי-אֹמֵר פַּעֲלָתָ עוֹלָה.
- אֲשֶׁר שִׁרְרוּ אֲנָשִׁים.

25. כֹּל-אָדָם חֹזֵן-בּוֹ אֲנוֹשׁ יֵבֵט מִרְחוֹק.
 26. הֵן-אֵל שְׁגִיָּא וְלֹא נִדַּע מִסֵּפֶר שְׁנָיו וְלֹא-חֶקֶר.
 27. כִּי יִגְרַע נִטְפִים מִים יִזְק מִטֶּר לְאָדָם.
 28. אֲשֶׁר יוֹלֹ שְׁחָקִים יִרְעֻפוּ עָלָי אָדָם לָרֹב.
 29. וּמִי יִבִּין מִפְּרִשֵׁי-עֵב מִי יִדַּע תְּשׂאוֹת סִפְתּוֹ.
 30. הֵן-פֶּרֶשׁ עָלָיו אָדָם וּרְאִשֵׁי הָרִים כֶּסֶה.
 31. כִּי-בָם יוֹזֵן עַמִּים יִתֶּן-אֲכָל לַמִּכְבִּיר.
 32. עַל-נַפְסִים נִסָּה-אֹר וַיִּצּוּ עָלֶיהָ בַּמִּפְנֶע.
 33. יִגִּיד עָלָיו רַעְמוֹ. אִם קָרָא עַל־עוֹלָה.

2. כֶּתֶר—impv. Pi. with pathah from the influence of ר (see GK 65e). Cf. Ju 20:43, where it occurs with its usual Hebrew meaning. Here an Aramaism, "to await"; cf. אָ, also NH.

וְעִיר—a diminutive form, cf. vulg. Arab. صغیر.

עוֹד לֹא־לוֹה—V habeo quod pro Deo, G ἐν ἑμοὶ ἐστὶν λέξις. Insert וְי, omitted because of confusion with ל in לוֹה. Ba reads לֹא־לוֹהוּ.

3. דַּעִי—this word gives an excellent sense here, and is probably right; however, it is interesting to note that עַדִּי may have been read.

לִּמֵּן הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא לִּמֵּן—from; cf. Dt 4:32... לְמִרְחוֹק

פַּעֲלִי—unusual word for "my maker".

אֲתֵן צִדֵּק—"attribute"; for the same idea cf. 1:22 נָתַן כְּבוֹד.

4. לֹא שֶׁקֶר מֵלִי—cf. Job's statement to his friends 13:4. This is perhaps an answer to Job's condemnation of the friends.

דַּעוֹת—an intensive plu. (GK 124e); cf. Prov 28:20 תְּבוֹנוֹת Is 40:14 אֱמוּנוֹת

תְּמִימִים—cf. Ps 101:2 בְּדֶרֶךְ תֵּם—"in the way of integrity", i.e. "the right way", Prov 11:20 תְּמִימֵי דֶרֶךְ. The word is mostly used of an "honest man", hence we have

glory, so that they are exalted; (8) or as prisoners in chains, so that they are taken in the cords of affliction.

8. ואם אסורים—Bu ואם אסרם, however, I understand this verse to be closely connected with vs 7. Ba wants a finite verb, and reads יאסרן.

חבלים—Ba reads בחותים, and refers to Manasseh.

ילכדון—read וילכדון—as a clause of result.

9. ויגד—simple waw, to express purpose after vs 8 (so Bu).

10. ויאמר . . . ויגל—simple waws to express purpose (so Bu).

ויהאמר—object of כי ישובן. Indirect narration after words of command like אמר is a late Hebrew idiom; the more classical would be direct narration, as in 1 Ch 21:18; 2 Sa 24:18. For this late usage cf. A *amara an*.

11. Insert עלי m.c. (so Ba).

ושניהם בנעימים—a gloss on ימיהם בטוב; hence omit, (so Gr, Du, Be, Ba). This vs along with vs 12 contain old prophetic ideas; cf. Is 1:19, 20.

12. בשלח יעברו—Gr takes exception to the position of בשלח because עבר usually takes its object after it. He takes it as a corruption of בקלו which has slipped down from between וישמעו and ויעברו. However, this is unlikely; cf. Is 1:19 where no קול appears. Du takes the word here as in 33:18 to be a corruption of שאול. The line is too long. The scribe missed the meaning of יעבר and thought בשלח should be read here as in 33:18. Hence omit, and translate עבר with the idea of “transgressing”. “If they hear not, they transgress, and expire without knowledge”.

13. ישימו אף—vs omitted by Bu. Du understands לבכם after ישימו. Gr compares שים to שם שם—“to lay up treasure”; hence here, “he lays up anger”. However, cf. שם, perhaps ישמו. If אף is read with (a), (b) is too short; and if with (b), (a) is too short. Cf. S שם שם = “לא ישועו באף יש”. Hence read ולא ישועו after ישמו to complete (a), אף may then be taken as a particle “yea” with (b).

Ba reads יסרם for אסרם—refuted by vs 8.

14. Bu omits. **תמת**—juss., impossible here. Cf. G ἀποθάνει, Σ θανατωθήσεται, S ^{ba}ba^{ho}; read **תמות** with Gr and Ba.

בקרשים—Gr takes **ב** as “in the capacity of”, “sharing the lot of”. This gives the same idea as T **מרי ונו**; hence read **ב**. Ba **בעלמים**.

A reads **חיתם** before **ב**.

15. **מעניו**—Ba reads **ב**.

אונם—cf. 33:16; 36:10, here juss. **אונם**—cf. V *aurem ejus*=**אונו** (so Bu, Du). Ba reads **ויציל מלחץ אביון**—“And he redeemeth the needy from tyranny”.

16. **ואף**—Bi, Bu, Be read **את ואף**, Du, Str read **את** for **ואף**.

הסיתך—usually used of enticing anyone into evil, and not good. Hence read **הסירך** and the difficulty vanishes. **סית** written because of influence of vs 18. The subject is the same as that in vs 15, “And also He had turned thee from distress”. It was the practice of God to use evil to instruct men, and Elihu wishes to inform Job, that had he listened to God’s warning, then He, God, had taken away his affliction.

תחתיה—It is difficult to see what the suff. refers to here. It should probably be read **תחתך**—“under thee”—“thy place”, or better “thy lot”. **רחב לא-מוצק תחתך**—“broadness unstraitened had been thy lot” makes an excellent par. to (a).

נחת—inserted here from the margin. It originally belonged to vs 20.

17. **ורין-רשע מלא**—this is too short for a line. The repetition of **מלא** from the preceding line, and **רין** from the following line is very suspicious. I, therefore, take it as an interpolation between **ורין ומשפט** and **ושלחך מלא רשע**. **תמכור**. Reading 16a, 16b, 16c, and 17b together, we obtain four parallel lines, all explaining the benefits that would have resulted to Job had he hearkened to God’s warning.

(b) Du omits **רין** and reads **ומשפט תמכך**. However, this leaves the line short. It is better to read **ורין ומשפט תמכך**—“Judgment and right had supported thee”.

18. **כי חמה**—Bu reads **כי חם** “das es heiss hergeht”. Root **חמה**, cf. A **حما**, S “to guard”, Aram. **חמא** “to see”, NH “to seek”. Here an Aramaism. Read **חמה-פן**—“beware lest”! (so Gr, Str).

בשפק—Bi **בשפק**, Du **משפק**—root **ספק**, “to clap (the hands)”—a mark of disrespect as “snap the finger”; hence “scorning”.

כפר—refers to the affliction that Job had undergone; cf. vss 15; 33:19ff.

19. **שועך**—this word may be from **שוע**—“opulent”, “noble”, or **שוע**—“cry for help”. Du reads **שיחך**. Bu **שועך**. Gr translates “riches”, and treats **ערך** as in 28:17, 19, and **שועך** as subj. I would rather consider that the subj. of **יערך** is God. For **שועך** read **ישעך**—“Can He prepare thy salvation without trouble”.

בצר—can only mean “without affliction”. Ba reads **היערך לישעך אוצר**—“Is thy weal to be compared with Gold”?

מאמצי כח—a late form, only here in OT, used of “striving” or “exertion”; cf. **אמין כח**—Is 40:26, Job 9:4. Ba translates—“treasures of wealth”.

20. (a) is short, hence insert after **תשאף**—**נחת** which has found its way from the margin into vs 16.

לעלות—**ל** with the inf. cons. to introduce a temporal clause; cf. Gn 24:63; 2 Sa 18:29; Ps 46:6. **לפנות בקר**; hence here, “at the time of the going up”.

תחת—cf. Ex 16:29 **תחתיו**—“in his place”. 1 Sa 14:9 **ועמדנו תחתינו**—“and we will remain where we are”; hence here—“to their places”, i.e. “to their sleeping quarters”.

The verse has caused a great deal of trouble to all exegetes. S, A read vss 19, 20. “He prevails over thee in order that he might free thee, that thou be not in straits from all the forces of strength and from the passions which are in the night, and he will make peoples a substitute for thee, and nations a ransom for thy soul”. T, V and the various Greek versions follow M, but evidently make nothing of it. Du makes an ingenious emendation **אל תשיאך לעלות עם מתחפם** —“Let not folly deceive

thee, to exalt thyself with him that thinketh himself wise". It is more satisfactory to leave the M as it is. Insert נחת. The night is the proper time for rest; cf. Is 21:4 "My pleasant night, he has made a terror". Job has repeatedly longed for the night rest; cf. 6:10; 7:13; 14:6, also 7:2 בעבר ישאף צל. In this verse night is par. to "when people go up to their place". In vs 19 Elihu has noted that affliction is necessary to a man. In vs 20 he adjures Job not to seek rest and ease, but to endure his afflictions which are meant to improve him.

21. על-זה—Gr, Bu, Du, Be, Str read עולה. However, Elihu has not claimed that Job was a sinner. Rather על-זה—"on this account" refers to (a). The reason for Job's trial was to hinder him from doing iniquity.

בחרת—S לחס; root ח "to try", "prove"; cf. Is 48:10. Read Pu. בחרת—(for stem, cf. Ecc 9:4). Hence read as an Aramaism.

מעני—cf. S and read בעני—"for on this account hast thou been tried with affliction".

נשניב—T תקיף, V excelsus, Ba נשניב.

23. פקר—S فقه, V poterit scrutari, G ὁ ἐτάζων. Hence the word seems to bear the meaning "inquire into", "examine". See Jastrow, "Talmudic Dictionary". This gives a good par. to (b).

על עליו—cf. S, A, G, V. Ba retains (a) and translates "Who hath punished Him for His way"?

24. שררו—Pol. of שיר—"to sing". Ba takes it from שור—"to see", and reads מאשר as אשר—"beyond what men have seen".

25. כל אדם—"mankind", par. to אנוש—"mortal man".

(1) refers to פעלו, vs 24.

26. שגיא—an Aramaism; cf. 37:23, used only of God.

נדע—S ندع, ולא נדע—circumstantial clause—"unknowable", par. to ולא חקר—"unsearchable".

27. נטפי מים—S dropped out through confusion with מים. Read נטפים מים (so Du, Gr).

יזק—read יזק or ויזק root זקק—NH "to bind"; cf. יקים—"fettters", also S يزم, Aram זיקוקא and Eth.—cognates for

(wine) skins. Hence, here we have the idea of binding up water for the raincloud, or perhaps of bottling it up.

לְאָדוּ—Gr and Du מֵאָדוּ—"from his mist", root אָד, cf. A אָד "vapour", Ass. *edu* "flood"; cf. Gn 2:6. Either meaning is possible here. "He bindeth up (bottlet up) the rain for his flood"; i.e. "His downpour of rain", or "for His misty cloud".

28. לְרַב—"many", better read לְרַב—"abundantly"; cf. Neh 9:25, Zech 14:14, Job 26:3(?).

29. Bu omits. Gr notes the difficulty.

אָה מִי—cf. S אָה, V Si, Du מִי. Better follow S and read מִי.

(b) is more difficult. Be follows G *ισόρητα* and considers תְּשֻׁאוֹת to be a form of שׁוּה. However, the line is short, and this does not help. We may consider תְּשֻׁאוֹת to be from שׁוּא and to mean "a noise" or "an uproar"; cf. Zech 4:7, Jb 39:7, Is 22:2. Ba reads תְּשֻׁאוֹת—"upliftings" or מְשֻׁאוֹת—"the risings of the cloud-masses".

סִכְתּוֹ—the dwelling place of God; cf. Ps 18:12.

Begin (b) מִי יֵבִין, as a par. to מִי יִדַּע (a).

30. אֲדוּ—Bu omits. T מִטְרָא, G, θ ἡδω a transliteration; hence read אֲדוּ as in vs 28 (so Gr, Du, Str).

שְׂרָשֵׁי הַיָּם—is an extraordinary phrase for this place. Du and Gr suggest רָאשֵׁי הָרִים which gives a good sense. Ba reads הֵן פָּרַשׁ עָב עָלֵי אֲדוּ וְשֶׁמֶשׁ בַּעֲנָן כֶּסֶה—"So he spreadeth the cloud masses over the light, and the sun with clouds he covereth".

31. יִדִּין—Clouds of rain are not meant to judge, but to give people food. Read יִזּוֹן as a par. to יִתֵּן אֹכֶל; cf. Jer 5:8, where the Hoph. is found, and מִזּוֹן in Dn 4:9.

לְכָל בָּשָׂר—לְרַב—"abundantly". Ba reads לְכָל בָּשָׂר—"to all flesh".

32. Gr treats אֲדוּ as an acc. of means, "with light". Du reads עַל כֵּף יִפְלֹס הָאֲדוּ. Bu takes אֲדוּ as the subj. of כֶּסֶה; perhaps read מְכַנֵּס הָאֲדוּ. However, if we read אֲדוּ as a direct acc. we get a good meaning. God keeps his light covered, in his power, until he wishes to use it.

במפניע—read במפנע, cf. 7:20, (so Du, Gr, Bu, Be).
 ויצו עליה—“he lays a charge upon it to go against a mark”.
 33. Bu reads for (b) מקנא אה על עולה—“Es 'gibt Kunde von ihm sein Grollen, schürt' den Zorn gegen den Frevel”. Gr has a most ingenious rendering—יגיד ועמו עלעה—but it is much too far from M to be certain. Du follows Bu for (b) but seems to read for (a) יגידהו על רעו—“Es meldet ihn an sein Kriegegruf aneifern den Zorn gegen den Frevel”.

רעו מקנה—“cattle” are certainly out of place here, and a thunderstorm is what is being discussed. Hence transpose מ and read רעמו—“His thunder telleth concerning Him”.

על עולה—Gra has shown that עלעולה may be equal to S 38:1, or NH עלעול which is a good par. to רעמו; hence read עלעולה—“his whirlwind”. Be looks for a par. of יגיד in קנה, and reads קרא.

עליו—place before קרא, and understand עליו. Ba takes יגיד from the Aram נגד—“to spread, or draw out”, and reads יגיד עליו ירעה מקום אהל עלעולה—“He spreadeth over it a curtain, the place of the tent of the storm”.

CHAPTER XXXVII

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. אה-לואת יחדר קרבי | ולבי יתר ממקומו. |
| 2. שמע ברנו קלו | והנה מפיו יצא. |
| 3. תחת-פל-השמים ישרהו | ואורו על פנפות הארץ. |
| 4. אחריו ישאג קולו | ירעם בקול גאוונו. |
| 5. ולא יעִפֵּב רעמו | כי ישמע קולו. |
| 6. יראנו אל נפלאות | עשה גדולות ולא נדע. |
| 7. פי לשלג יאמר הוא ארץ | לגשם ומטר עזו. |
| 8. בידו פל-אדם יחתום | לדעת פל-אנוש מעשהו. |
| 9. ותבא חיה במו-ארב | ובמעונתיה תשכן. |
| 10. מן-החדר תבוא סופה | וממזוֹיִם (תאתה) קרה. |

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 10. מְנַשְׁמֶת־אֶל יִתְנ־קָרַח | ורחב מים במוצק. |
| 11. אֶפֶּי־בְרִי יִמְרָח עֵב | יפיץ ענן אדון. |
| 12. הוּא מְסֻבֵּב מִסְבִּיב | מתהפך בתחבולתו. |
| לַפְעָלוֹ כֹּל־אֲשֶׁר יִצְוֶהוּ | על־פני־תבל ארצו. |
| 13. אִם לִשְׁבֹּט אִם לַעֲרֹץ | אם לחסד ימצאהו. |
| 14. הָאֻזִּינָה זֹאת אִיּוֹב | והתבונן נפלאות אל. |
| 15. הִתְרַע בְּשׁוֹם־אֱלֹהִים עֲמוּד | והופע אור עננו. |
| 18. תִּרְקִיעַ עִמּוֹ לִשְׁחָקִים | חוקים כְּרָאִי מוֹצֵק. |
| 16. הִתְבִּין עַל־מִפְרָשֵׁי־עֵב | מביא חמים מדרום. |
| 21. וְעֵתָה לֹא רָאוּ אֹר | בהיר הוא בשחקים. |
| 22. רוּחַ עֲבָרָה וְתַטְהֵרֶם | 22. מִצְפּוֹן זֶהֱרִי יֵאָתֶה. |
| 19. הוֹדִיעֵנִי מִה־נֶּאֱמַר לוֹ | ולא נערץ מפני־חשך. |
| 20. הִיסְפֹּר־לוֹ כִּי אֲדַבֵּר | אם יאמר־איש פִּי יִבְלָע. |
| 22. אֱלֹהִים לֹא נִרְאָה הוֹדוּ | 23. שְׂדֵי לֹא מִצְאָנָהוּ. |
| שְׁגִי־אֶכָּח וּמִשְׁפָּט | ורב־צדקה לֹא יֵעֲנֶה. |
| 24. לָכֵן יִרְאוּהוּ אַנְשִׁים | לוֹ יִרְאוּ כֹל־חַכְמֵי־לֵב. |

1. אֶפֶּי — Du הֵלֵא לְבִי — Du reads לְבַךְ, but not necessary. אֶפֶּי — Ba reads בַּפְּלָצוֹת. אֶפֶּי — is an emphatic particle used to begin a new thought.

(b) is short. Gr suggests that a word like קָרַח has dropped from (a). Hence read לְבִי with (b).

יִתְנ־ — A *natala* "to shiver", or "to tremble"; hence "to move with fear".

2. שָׁמְעוּ — S *مسمع*, G *ἀκούε*; also cf. sing. הִשְׁמַר of 36:31; hence read שָׁמַע (so Du). Omit שָׁמְעוּ as a variant (so Gr).

3. יִשְׁרָהוּ — root שָׁרָה; cf. Aram. שָׂרָא, S *ܫܪܐ* "to loose", Ass. *surru* — "to open", "disclose", hence here "to let free", or "send out". A Pi. form of the word occurs in Jer 15:11, where it is dubious.

כנפות הארץ—cf. 38:13, Is 11:12, Ez 7:2.

תחת כל השמים cf. Dn 9:12.

4. קול—read קולו—ו omitted because of confusion with ירעם (so Bi, Bu, Be, Du).

ירעם—jussive in form.

יעקבם—must be a denominative of עקב, otherwise unknown. Since Aramaic words are so prevalent in Job, we may consider that he uses one here. T reads יעכבנו; hence read יעכב, a good NH word. As the line stands it is too short, and doubtless a word has dropped. The theme of the vs is “thunderings”, and we conclude that the missing word is similar. Bu, Str and Gr read ברקים as obj. of יעכב. However, I consider that רעמו is more in harmony. Cf. G ἀνταλλάξει αὐτους = יעברם or יעבר עם; hence I would suppose that the text used by G read יעב רעם, the כ had been dropped from their MS.

כי — Du and Gr read מפין m.c. but unnecessary.

5. ירעם אל בקולו — seems to be a variant of 4a; at least its present form has been influenced by 4a. קולו is a ditto. from vs 4. ירעם was read with קולו. It is better to follow Du and read יראנו. Gr omits the entire phrase, and following vs 5:9 reads... חקר גדולות ולא —this may be right but it seems rather violent.

6. הוא—Gr and Bu read רוח, but cf. V discendat in terram; cf. A هوار. S |كوس| “precipice”, with which we may compare הוה —“misfortune”. This should give us a good sense. Another good suggestion is that הוא ארץ should be read האצר —“be stored up”. This has the advantage in that it makes the line shorter.

ושם—read וגשם as a par. to ושלג.

וגשם מטרות—is not in S. Hence omit as a variant.

עזו—par. to הוא; hence read impv. עזו. Du reads תעזו, thus explaining ת in the previous word. Gr, Be, Hfm, Bu read ערפו —“drop down”.

7. ביד—Du, Be read בעד. Gr retains ביד as more expressive. Better בידו and refer it to the storm of vs 6 “by its power”.

חתם—Ph, NH, Aram.—“to seal up” or “shut up” as in 24:16. חתמו חתמו —“they shut themselves up”. Hence, “By the power of the rain He shuts up (keeps in doors) all men”.

כל אנשי מעשהו — V ut noverint singuli opera sua, G ἵνα γινῶ πᾶς ἀσθρῶπος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν, Di כל אנשים. Better follow versions and read כל אנוש (so Du, Be, Bu, Ba). Ba transposes מעשה and יד.

8. במארב — Ba reads במורארב.

9. חדר — Bu reads חדר תמן for תבוא חדר. Be inserts תימן; cf. 9:9. חדר means “chamber”; cf. punice חדר — “a grave chamber”, A حدر “the apartments for women”. The author is simply following the old idea that winds, hail, rains, etc. are stored up in their peculiar chambers.

מזרים — “the scatterers” G ἀκρωτηρίων for ἀρκτῶα, V Arcturo. Hence a Northern constellation, then a name for the North. This makes a poor par. to חדר. The word is probably a corruption of ממוזים — “store houses”; cf. מוי — “a vault for corn” Ps 144:13 (so Gr, Du, Bu).

(b) is short, so Ba inserts תאתה as a par. to תבוא.

10. יתן — cf. T יתיהב, S يَتَن, A يَتَن; hence read יתן.

נשמת אל — a synonym for a “storm” (so Ba).

11. רי — root רוה — “to saturate”; cf. S רי, A ري. It is of the same form as רי, עי, and therefore expresses the idea of “moisture”. S reads رِيح, Du ברד, Gr and Ba ברק. Pere Dhorme of the École de Biblique, Jerusalem, makes the interesting suggestion that the word ברי is borrowed from the G Βορέας “North Wind”. In that case ברי would be subject to מריה. However, רי gives a good sense.

יטרה — root טרה — NH “to trouble oneself”, Aram. Aph. — “to load”; also cf. A طرح “to throw”. It occurs in OT only here. Be reads אה ברק יטרה עב — “Yea, the cloud casteth forth lightnings”. S reads differently, but עב is considered the subject as ענן in (b); therefore I read יטרה with an intransitive sense. “The thick cloud is laden with moisture”.

ענן אור—Point with Bu, Gr, Be **ענן**; cf. V Nubes spargunt lumen.

אור—cf. T **מטריה**; hence read **אור**, a better par. to **ר**,

עב—originally meant “thickness” and then came to be used of thickening atmosphere, and then “clouds”. **ענן** is the usual word for cloud. Here an atmospheric phenomenon may be described. Elihu has noted the atmosphere thickening (**עב**) as the moisture is collected, and then by a change of temperature the clouds (**ענן**) were formed, which congealed and scattered their rain.

12. (a) is short.

מסבות—an adv. acc. Bu reads **מסביב** and inserts **יתהלך** after it (so Gr). Ley and Du insert the same word after **מתהפך**. Be reads **יסובב** in (a). **יתהלך** may have been omitted because of its similarity to **מתהפך**, or **יסובב** because of its similarity to **מסביב** or **מסבות**. However **מסובב** is a better par. to **מתהפך**. Ba reads **מסובב שמים**.

בתחבולתו = בתחבולתו.

לפעלם—begins a new verse. Gr takes the suff. **ם** to refer to the flashes of lightning. Bu reads **מכל אשר**. I consider that **פעל** refers to **הוא** of (a).

יצום—read **יצוהו** to agree with **הוא** of vs 11 (so Be, Bu).

ארצה—S, A, G **ארצו**, which read. V reads “voluntas” par. to **תחבולתו**; hence Du reads **כרצנו**. However, cf. Prov 1:31 **תבל ארצו**.

13. **אם לארצו**—Gr, Du read **ולמארה**; cf T **רויא**. This verse in T is quite illuminating, “Whether a rain of vengeance in the sea and in the desert, whether a violent shower in the trees of the mountains and hills, or a quiet rain of mercy in the fields of fruit and vines, it fully supplied it”. We might at least follow the suggestion of the above, which is a paraphrase of M and read **לרזון** or better **לערץ** which is nearer the M, and may have become confused with **ארצו** of vs 12.

שבט—occurs also in 9:34, 21:9 with the idea of “a rod of correction”, hence “discipline” (so Prov 10:13, 13:24, 22:8).

ימצאהו—as in 34:2 Hiph. “to cause to find”, then “to befall”, or “overtake”. Perhaps read ויצאהו.

14. עמד—Bu reads with (b); Du with (a); Gr, Ba would omit m.c. A scribe probably transferred it to this line from vs 15.

15. בשום אלה עליהם—cf. G ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ἔργα αὐτοῦ. G evidently read פעל from אלה (עליהם) (so Du, Gr). Bu omits the line. If G is right שום must take on the meaning “ordaining” or “appointing” his works. Directly above עליהם in vs 14 we have עמד which is evidently out of place. In vs 15 T reads נזירתא—“orderly arrangement”, עמוד would be “something stood up” or “placed”; hence as T reads “set in order”. עליהם was therefore introduced by the scribe to fill up the blank left by the removal of עמוד which became עמד in vs 14. The writer may have in mind the idea of the pillar of cloud in Ex 13:21 לנחתם בעמוד ענן לנחתם בעמוד אש להאיר להם אור עננו. Cf. this with מפרש עב vs 16. This may be a Targumic comment on עב.

והופע—Hiph. inf. cons. of יפע, par. to שום.

Order of vss 16-24. Du reads 16, 17, 19, 20, 18, 21ac, 22a, 21b, 22b, 23a, 23bc, 24. Bu omits 16, and reads 17, 18, 19, etc. Gr reads M order. I am of the opinion that 16, 17, 21, 22a go together to make up a complete description of a sirocco. Therefore since vs 18 comprises one of the ironical questions of Job, I would remove it from its present position where it interrupts the context, and place it after vs 15. Vss 19 and 20 should follow vs 22a, because they seem to contain a climax to the ironical questions. Then follows vss 23b, 23, 24.

18. תרקיע—an interrogative without a particle; cf. Gn 27:24, and 1 Sa 11:12 שאול ימלך עלינו—“Shall Saul reign over us”? Also cf. colloquial Arabic, which uses no particle. רקע—is used generally in the Kal “to stamp with the feet”, “crush”, “pound out” Ez 6:11, 2 Sa 22:43.

שחקים—root שחק, cf. S سح, A سح “to rub away”, “to wear away”, hence “dust”, “clouds”, then “sky”. It is used as a par. to שמים in Dt 33:26, Is 45:8, Jb 35:5, 38:37. The fact that רקע—“to pound out” (cf רקיע Gn 1:6) is

used with it would indicate that the sky was meant rather than clouds. It is also worthy of note that S translates it by **سما**; hence a strong firmament, rather than "feathery clouds".

16. **התרע אל**—is an unusual combination. Gr takes **ע** as a ditto. from **התרע**, and **ל** introducing its object. Bu omits the line. The fact that the same word begins vs 15 makes it appear suspicious. G reads a different word. In vs 15 it reads *oída* = **ידע**, and in vs 16b *ἐπίσταμαι*. In vss 14:21; 38:29 h Gas used *ἐπίσταμαι* to translate **בין**. Also cf. 36:29. **בין** can be followed by **על**; cf. Dn 11:39, 27.

מפלשי—only here. Gr retains it as more picturesque. It has a cognate in **פלס**, but the word is doubtful. Cf. 36:29 where we have nearly the same phrase as above reconstructed. **ל** has entered under the influence of **מפלאות**.

עב—In Ex 19:19 we find the phrase **עב הענן**—"dark clouds" from root **עוב**—"to be thick", then "dark". A **עב** means "to set" of the sun; from the idea of absence, hence "invisibility", "darkness". Parallel to the stem **עב** is **עב** whence **עב**—"a cloud", from the idea of "thickness", for the word also means "the thickness of a tree". The original idea was probably "thickness", then "opaqueness"—"darkness". Hence we have here not so much the idea of scattering of clouds, but rather of a general thickening of the atmosphere, spreading over the whole sky, giving the sky a dull, heavy appearance.

נפלאות—may possibly have been meant for **נפלאות**, but **מ** and **נ** are seldom confused by scribes. This correction, favored by some, is hardly probable. It is however likely that the present text is due to a confusion of the word to be read here with **נפלאות** in vs 14. We require some word meaning "to bring". Du reads **תהום מרעם**—"that pours down a deluge of thunder". I would suggest **מביא**. Its present form may be explained as follows: **ב** and **פ** could have become confused quite easily. Then since the word has become meaningless, the next scribe attempted to rectify it by changing **י** to **ל**, or perhaps by inserting **ל**

between the פ and י. This gave the idea of "doing wonderfully". Finally the י dropped out. The ת was inserted later by ditto. from the following word.

תמים דעים—is very peculiar, and if our preceding suggestions are tenable, quite out of place. Du's תחום מרעם is a desperate attempt to make the best of a difficult phrase. The expression "perfect in knowledge" is not an ordinary appellation for God among the Hebrews and was doubtlessly influenced by תמים דעות in vs 36:4, to which Ba emends it. We should note, however, that vs 17 which describes the effect of a hot wind begins with אשר which connects it closely with the preceding verse. The similarity between תמים and חמים is striking, and leads me to conclude that חמים was read here originally. דעים is written directly above מדרום, and seems to be a vertical ditto. of it. In Old Hebrew ר and ע could have been confused quite easily. And the מ omitted by haplography because of the מ in חמים. This gives us חמים מדרום, a very logical phrase.

17. אשר בגדיך חמים השיק ארת מדרום

אשר בגדיך—Gr connects the pro. suff. with אשר, "Thou whose garment". Du treats it as a conj.—"what time thy garments".

בהשקט—"to show quietness". This is possible, but it is not a good par. to (a). Better read השיק from the root שלק (Is 44:15). "When the land was hot from the South". The fact that the verse begins with a relative, and that it explains the preceding verse, coupled with the fact that it is very commonplace, leads me to conclude that the entire verse is an explanatory gloss on vs 16.

דרום—root unknown, S דרומ, G Δαρωμας, a name for South Palestine, and became known in Hebrew as a general name for the South. It occurs in Ez and Ecc.

21. ראן—Bu reads the verse directly after 20 emending to ראנו.

בהיר—Du reads 21b, "hell leuchtet er an Himmel". Cf. S לה root בהר —"to gleam", "glisten". A case of anti-phrasis like *nekar*—"stranger", and *makkir*—"acquaintance".

בהיר occurs only here, but a cognate form is found in Lev 13:2 where it means a "white spot"—hence we have a progression **בהר**—"to glisten", **בהרת**—"a spot", **בהיר**—**כה**—"darkened".

שחקים—as in vs 18 "sky" (so Gr, Bu).

22. **זהב**—Delitzsch points out that the source of gold for the ancients was in the North, and refers to Herodotus and Pliny, to prove his point. He also argues that the North was the source of gold for the ancient Semites in his "WO LAG DAS PARADIES", and refers to iiR, 11a. But gold is absolutely foreign to the context. It is more probable that **זהר** originally stood here, and that owing to the misplacing of the line, difficulty of exegesis arose, and the word was corrupted to **זהב**. The scribe evidently thought of the North as the proverbial place of gold.

19. **הודיעני**—S **أخبرني**, A **أخبرني**, G **δίδαξόν με**; hence read **הודיעני** (so Gr, Du, Be).

לא נערך—Gr understands **מלין** (32:14). Du reads it with **ל**. **מפני חשך** certainly means "death" a par. to **יבלע**; hence read **נערך** **ו**—**ו** was dropped because of confusion with **ל**. This gives an excellent sense and can be used before **מפני**. Cf. Dt 7:21, 20:3, 31:6.

20. **אמר**—S **أمر**; read **יאמר** par. to **אדבר**.

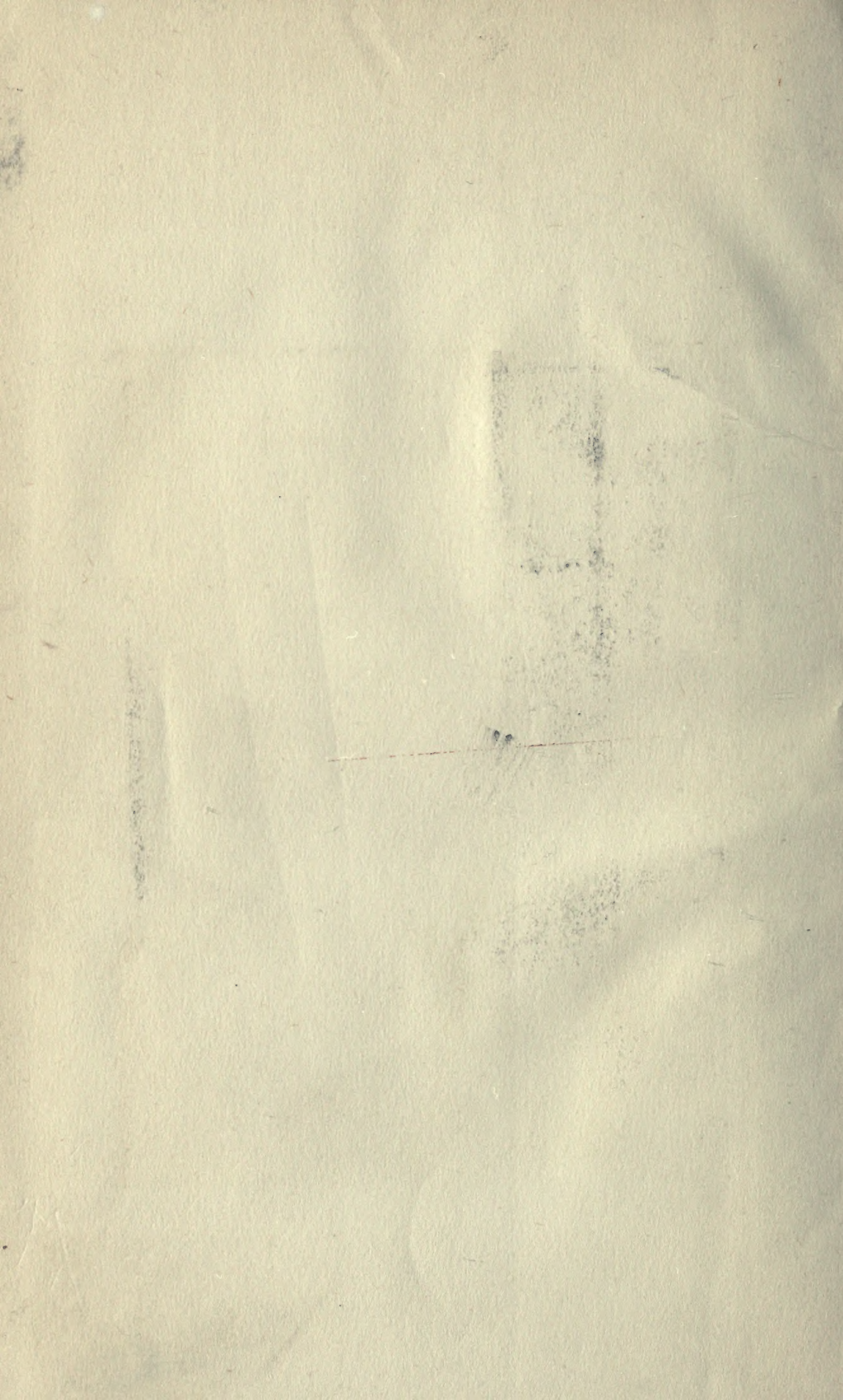
בלע—"to swallow up"; a figurative expression for "annihilation". Du reads **היסוך** for **היספר**, and gives **בלע** the meaning of **בלע**.

22b, 23. **על אלה נורא הוד**—Gr and Bu read **נורא הוד**. Read **לא** for **על**, and transpose after **אלה**, and read **הודו** for **הוד**.

רב—better to read **רב**.

Gr reads **לא יענה** for **לא יענות**. Bu **שגיא כח ורב**. **צדיק צדקה משפט לא יענה**. Du reads the same but omits **צדיק**.

24. **לא יראה**—read **לא יראו**; cf. T **לא ירחל**, S **لا يراه**, G **φοβηθήσονται δὲ αὐτόν**. This makes a good par. to (a), and makes an excellent place for Jahweh to begin His speech.



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